ARCHIV FÜR ORIENTFORSCHUNG

Internationale Zeitschrift
für die Wissenschaft vom Vorderen Orient

BAND LIV – 1. Teil

2021

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Hittite Priests between the Sacred and the Profane

Introduction

By Shai Gordin (Ariel)

Alongside kings and queens, the military and the *literati*, priests are one of the most influential agents of society. For thousands of years, from the dawn of urbanism to the very last days of the major Near Eastern civilizations, priests were central figures not only in the realm of cult, but also in politics, economy and society. A variety of sources from India in the east, through Babylonia, Assyria, Anatolia, the Levant and Egypt provides us with a multifaceted view of priests. Some are known to us as family men, businessmen or entrepreneurs, others as administrators of cult and yet others as exegetes of myth and ritual. Many priests were members of elite communities, chosen on account of their physical purity. Yet, the complex nature and stratified structure of the priesthood leads to divergent definitions of its members and institutions. Therefore, a synchronic and chronological study of the literary, economic and legal output of priests and priesthood is a *desideratum*.

What makes a priest? Each religion clearly sets its own parameters, be they social, legal or ritualistic. One of the most well-known group of priests is of course that of the Biblical Kohanim (כהנים) and Leviim (לוויים), who were first organized during Israel's exodus, in the desert. One can define them in many ways according to their activities, but the most basic identity is based on lineage: a Kohen being the male descendant of Aaron, brother of Moses, and a Levi a member of a tribe by that name. A Christian monk on the other hand was identified as *solus soli Deo vacans*, "who in solitude makes himself free for God alone" (Rufinus, 4th/5th cent. CE, Illich 1993), namely, based on the nature of his activity that makes him mediator between god and men. Such Jewish and Christian definitions stand on a spectrum of identities, all of which distil the cultural *koine* of ancient religions. Caroline Waerzeggers (2010), elaborating on Govert van Driel (2002), stressed how Babylonian priests were first and foremost legally defined by their possession of an *isqu*, Akkadian for "share". This term is usually translated as

"prebend", which allowed access to the temple cult for certain privileged families and their male descendants. But priests in the Near East did not stay at their main cult centre all the time, and their migration, be it forced or voluntary, frequently had consequences for the transmission of sacrificial rites across space and time. Dominique Charpin (1986) has famously shown how this happened in southern Mesopotamia, when exiled priests from Eridu arrived at Ur during the Old Babylonian period, and Walther Sallaberger (1993) posited similar contacts between the two cult centers even earlier, during Ur III times. The latter period had a culmination of elements in city cult, which set the tone for the next thousand years in Mesopotamia, but date to the very beginnings of the priestly institution during the early third millennium BC. Even the very sources of this institution and of the city cult were recently questioned by Piotr Steinkeller (2017).

Therefore, the papers in this volume and those which already appeared in JANER 19 seek to understand more clearly the development of priestly communities across different historical and social contexts. Though limited to Hittite Anatolia, the focus of the four authors herein frequently shifts from studying priests as mediators between man and god or as representatives of temple institutions. Rather, they discuss different aspects of the life of priests: political, cultic, intellectual, entrepreneurial or personal. Michele Cammarosano investigates priestly identity and the socio-economic role of priests in the local cult setting of towns in the Hittite heartland. Moving from the heartland to the Hittite court, Stefano de Martino traces the socio-historical development of two types of Hurrian cultic officials, the *purapši*-priests and *tabri*-attendants. Amir Gilan shifts the focus to the Hittite royal family and the role played by kings and princes as priests. Finally, Piotr Taracha returns to the local cults dealt with by Cammarosano and tries to identify what kind of organizational character these priestly communities reflect. It becomes clear that all of the authors tackle the issue of how priests

did construct their individual and collective identities; either through status and personal aspirations – as integrative part of a given social, economic and religious environment – or by manipulating their environment for their own benefit or for the benefit of others or the temple.

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The *purapši*-Priest and the *tabri*-Attendant

By Stefano de Martino (Turin)

1. Introduction

The spread of Hurrian culture at the Hittite court started at the time of King Tutḫaliya I,[1] when Kizzuwatna became an integral part of the kingdom of Ḫatti. Nikkal-Madi, the wife of Tutḫaliya I, bore a Hurrian name, and we assume that she was a Kizzuwatnean princess (Houwink ten Cate 1998, 43-50).[2] Hittite political control over Kizzuwatna had a strong influence on the religious beliefs of the Hittite royal house.[3] Tutḫaliya I may have been the ruler who introduced the cult of the Deity of the Night of Kizzuwatna into the city of Šamuḫa (Kayalıpınar), and if this is true, it is a clear sign of his appreciation for the Kizzuwatnean religious tradition (Miller 2004, 312-439).[4]

The influence of Hurrian culture on the court of Ḫatti increased during the reigns of Tutḫaliya I's two successors, namely Arnuwanda I and Tutḫaliya II. Some of the royal princes and princesses bore Hurrian names (de Martino 2011, 9-13), and many texts written in Hurrian were produced in Ḫattuša and Šapinuwa.

Hurrian and Luvian magic rituals were performed and written down at that time. For example, the Hurrian purification ritual *itkalzi* was composed for the royal couple Tutḫaliya II/Tašmi-Šarri and Tadu-Ḫeba and served as the basis for some Hurro-Hittite "fill in the blanks" recensions (de Martino 2017). The ritual accredited to Maštigga, the "Old Woman" from Kizzuwatna, may have been one of the first Kizzuwatnean rituals studied and copied by Hittite ritualists and scribes (Miller 2004, 11-257). Even though this ritual does not contain any Luvian incantations, its cultural and linguistic background was Luvio-Kizzuwatnean (Yakubovich 2010, 278).[5]

Miller (2004, 441-532) offered a very detailed analysis of the sources and the development of the Kizzuwatnean rituals and also suggested a scenario to explain how Luvian and Hurrian Kizzuwatnean rituals reached the Hittite court. Whereas Miller stressed the importance of the written documents, Marcuson and van den Hout (2015) recently argued that these texts might also have been transmitted orally.

The Hittite conquest of Mittani at the time of Šuppiluliuma I must surely have provided opportunities to experience and gather knowledge of both the Hurrian literary texts and the Hurrian religious tradition. Secondly, in the second half of the 13th century BCE, Ḫattušili II and his wife Pudu-Ḫeba renewed the Hittite court's interest in the Hurrian and Hurro-Kizzuwatnean heritage.

Despite the fact that the Hittite court appreciated Hurrian religious beliefs and magic rituals, the official cult administration of the Hittite kingdom closely adhered to its northern and central Anatolian roots. The highest ranking priest was the SANGA (Taggar-Cohen 2006, 140-228), but we know very few SANGA-priests who were affiliated with Hurrian deities, such as the priests of Išḫara, Ištar, and Tašmišu (Taggar-Cohen 2006, 157-167).

Temples 15 and 16 in the Upper City in Ḫattuša, which were presumably built at the beginning of the 14th century BCE (Schachner 2011, 91), preserve many tablets of the Hurrian "Song of Release". This may indicate that these temples were dedicated to the Hurrian deities mentioned in that composition, namely Teššob, Išḫara, and Allani. The collection of Hurrian texts stored in both of these temples suggests that the priests who worked there knew the Hurrian language; but, unfortunately, we do not have any information concerning their identity (see de Martino 2014 with previous literature). In addition, the SANGA-priests who bore Hurrian names are very few; we may note, for example, Ḫešni, who is mentioned in texts datable to the late 13th century BCE (de Martino 2012), and Pendib-Šarri, who was a priest of Ištar in the Kizzuwatnean city of Lawazantiya and the father of Queen Pudu-Ḫeba (see § 2.4.).

Although SANGA-priests with Hurrian names are scarcely attested, Hittite sources provide information on temple personnel whose titles are Hurrian and who might originally have belonged to the Kizzuwatnean cult institutions. Here I would like to consider the case of two cultic specialists, namely, the *purapši*-priest and the *tabri*-attendant.

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[1] Although none of the Hurrian texts preserved in the Hittite archives mention Tutḫaliya I (Giorgieri 2013, 164-165), the tablets of the Hurrian "Song of Release", which is a literary composition on the fall of Ebla, might have reached the Hittite court when Tutḫaliya I conquered Aleppo and other northwestern Syrian territories (de Martino 2017, 153).

[2] Taracha (2000, 207-212) argued that Hurrian and Syrian rites, such as the scapegoat rite, might have already been known during the Old Hittite Kingdom (differently Miller 2004, 464-465).

[3] See Haas-Wilhelm 1974; Hutter 2003, 214; Miller 2004, 351; Strauss 2006, 3-15; Taracha 2009, 82; Gilan 2014, 199.

[4] Differently Taracha 2000, 164.

[5] See Yakubovich 2010, 34-35, concerning the assumption that at least some of the recensions of this ritual may be translations from the original text, which might have been written either in Luvian or in Hurrian.

2. The *purapši*-priest: textual material

2.1. The word *purapši*-

The word *purapši*- is documented in Hittite texts only from approximately the beginning of the 14th century BCE onward (CHD P/3, 383). It is considered to be Hurrian in origin (Richter 2012, 328-329) and presumably includes the suffix -*apš*,[6] which also occurs in the term *šinapši*.[7] Laroche (1977, 206) related the Hurrian root *p/wur*, from which the word *purapši*- derives, to the term *p/wuram(m)i*- "slave" (Richter 2012, 327-328) and translated *purapši*- as "serviteur (d'un dieu)". Dijkstra (2015a, 58-60; 2017, 143-144) instead argued that *purapši*- might be connected to the Hurrian verb *p/wur*- "to see", from which the term *p/wurana* "omen" is derived (Richter 2012, 326). Even though the activity of the *purapši*- as a diviner is documented in only a very few texts, there are some hints that the *purapši*- was a ritualist and a diviner as well (Košak 1982, 231).

2.2. The *purapši*-priest in the cult tradition of Kizzuwatna

A Kizzuwatnean ritual attributed to Pa/illiya, king of Kizzuwatna, was imported into the Hittite kingdom and is preserved on tablets found in Ḫattuša (Beckman 2013; Ferrandi 2015). This Pa/illiya may be the Kizzuwatnean ruler who concluded a subordination treaty with the Hittite king Zidanta II (Devecchi 2015, 65-70) and another treaty with Idrimi of Alalaḫ (*AlT* 3, see von Dassow 2008, 34-35) that was sealed under the supervision of Parattarna, king of Mittani (Haas 1994, 581). Thus, the original composition of this ritual may be dated to about the middle of the 15th century BCE.

The ritual of Pa/illiya lasted at least thirteen days and was performed when a statue of the Storm-god was set up, presumably in a new sanctuary. Since the ritual was originally celebrated during the reign of King Pa/illiya, it is one of the oldest Kizzuwatnean religious documents known by the Hittites (Beckman 2013, 113). The original ritual might have been composed in Hurrian, and in fact many Hurrian terms occur in the Hittite versions of this text (Ferrandi 2015, 193). The tablet collections of the Hittite capital document several recensions of the Pa/illiya ritual, and although many of them date to the 13th century, some manuscripts are older (Beckman 2013, 140; Ferrandi 2015, 193). I suggest that Kantuzili, son of King Arnuwanda I and a priest in Kizzuwatna, was the patron of the oldest Hittite recension of the Pa/illiya ritual.

The ritual starts with the purification of the city of Lawazantiya.[8] The statue of the Storm-god was bathed in the water of seven springs, or fountains, and because two rivers, namely the Tamana and the Alda, flowed close to Lawazantiya (Hawkins – Weeden 2017, 287), we argue that the water mentioned in the Pa/illiya ritual indeed came from these two rivers.[9] The river Alda is also mentioned in the tablets of the Hurrian *ḫišuwa*-festival (see § 2.4.) as well as in the Lawazantiya rituals (Wegner 1981, 174).

The *purapši*-priest appears on the second day of the ritual, when he goes to Mount Kalzatapa. This place name might be a variant spelling of the name of Mount Kalzatapiyari, which is also mentioned in the *ḫišuwa*-festival (Hawkins – Weeden 2017, 287). Kalzatapa was a sacred mountain that played a significant role in the religious celebrations performed in Kummani (Groddek 1999, 31; Ferrandi 2015, 190), which – as is well known – was a city located in southeastern Anatolia[10] and the main religious centre of Kizzuwatna.

The mention of the *purapši*-priest in the Pa/illiya ritual demonstrates that the *purapši*-priesthood originally belonged to the cult tradition of Kizzuwatna. Although the passage that mentions the *purapši*-priest does not give any information concerning his status, the fact that he took part in a ritual accredited to the king of Kizzuwatna suggests that he was involved in ceremonies of more than ordinary importance.

2.3. The *purapši*-priests as 'authors' of Kizzuwatnean rituals

Three *purapši*-priests are named as the 'authors' of the magic ritual preserved in tablet KBo 23.1+ (Strauss 2006, 253-271). This tablet records two versions of the same magic ritual. The two versions are clearly distinguishable, as they are written by two different hands, and the tablet is considered a school exercise (Gordin 2015, 34; Waal 2015, 154).[11]

The ritual was originally performed when someone either deposited *idḫi*-objects in a holy place in the temple or committed a sacrilege (*maršaštarri*)[12] inside the tem-

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[6] See Wegner 2004, 125 n. 35; Giorgieri 2010, 197.

[7] Concerning the word *šinapši* and its meaning, see the literature quoted by Richter 2012, 383-384; see Gentili Pieri 1982 and Trémouille 1997, 174-179 for the function of the *šinapši* as either a cult building or a part of it.

[8] See Hawkins – Weeden 2017, 285 for the assumption that Lawazantiya might be placed at Tatarlı Höyük.

[9] The expression *šeḫelli*-watar "pure water", which occurs both here and in other passages of the ritual, is a Hurro-Hittite hybrid (Ferrandi 2015, 189): whereas *watar* is the Hittite term for "water", *šeḫelli*- is a Hurrian loan word (< *šeġli* "pure"; Richter 2012, 368-369) that occurs frequently in Hurrian purification rituals, where it refers to water used as a purifying substance.

[10] See Hawkins – Weeden 2017, 284-287, who assume that Kastabala might be the site where Kummani was located.

[11] Hence, we can exclude the hypothesis that the tablet refers to two different performances of the same ritual, as R. Strauss assumed (2006, 254).

[12] See CHD Š/2, 198-199.

ple. The word *idḫi-* might derive from the Hurrian verb *id-* "to strike" or "to hit" (Richter 2012, 109-110) and presumably refers to an impure substance or object.

The magic actions performed during this ritual belong to the Hurro-Kizzuwatnean tradition, such as the rite of waving a "Ḫurri-bird" over the statues of the deities (Haas 2003, 488-489; Strauss 2006, 72-76), the *ambašši*-rite (Richter 2012, 20-21), the *uzi-* and *zurgi*-offerings (Richter 2012, 504, 420-421), and the *šeǵelliški*-rite (Richter 2012, 369).

The three 'authors' of this ritual, namely, Ammiḫatna, Tulbi, and Madi, the *purapši*-priests of Kummani, are mentioned in both the incipit (obv. i 1-2) and the colophon (rev. ii 17-19).

Four catalogue entries presumably refer to this same ritual. *KBo* 31.8+ iv 25-29 mentions Ammiḫatna, Tulbi, and Madi and labels them as the *purapši*-priests of the country of Kizzuwatna (Dardano 2006, 28-29). Furthermore, an entry in the tablet catalogue KUB 30.51+ ii 3'-6' (Dardano 2006, 128-129) mentions Ammiḫatna, Tulbi, and Madi, who are simply called *purapši*-priests here. A third reference to the ritual of Ammiḫatna, Tulbi, and Madi occurs in another catalogue entry (KUB 31.27+ ii 5'-7'; Dardano 2006, 152-153). This passage is less precise than the first two entries; in fact, not only does it fail to specify the title of the three ritualists, but also the name of Ammiḫatna is written here with the determinative for feminine personal names. Finally, Ammiḫatna is considered a feminine name in another fragmentary catalogue entry, *KBo* 31.25+ i 7'-8' (Dardano 2006, 233-234).[13]

Ammiḫatna is the 'author' of another ritual, *KBo* 5.2 (and duplicates *KBo* 34.78+, KUB 45.12, *KBo* 22.136; see Strauss 2006, 216-252). This purification ritual was performed when someone had eaten either unholy food or bread and meat produced in the "Stone-House" (É.NA$_4$), which was a monumental funerary building (van den Hout 2002). This ritual has a Hurro-Kizzuwatnean character and the ritualist ([LÚ]AZU) pronounces Hurrian sentences in two passages (ii 21-27; iii 36-38). The first two lines of the tablet, which are only preserved in *KBo* 5.2, accredit the ritual to Ammiḫatna, [LÚ]SANGA of Išḫara, the man from Kizzuwatna.

Madi, who shares the 'authorship' of the ritual KUB 23.1+ with Ammiḫatna and Tulbi, is one of the 'authors' of the ritual KUB 9.2 (Strauss 2016, 272-276). This ritual was celebrated in the temple or chapel (*karimmi*) of Ḫebat on the occasion of its renewal (Trémouille 2000, 844). Two other 'authors' are mentioned together with Madi, namely Daguya and Ašnunigalli. All three ritualists are said to be the AZU-priests of Ḫebat.

Both Madi and Tulbi are mentioned together with three other ritualists, named Naniyanni, Ammiyatala, and Pabanikki, in the catalogue entry *KBo* 31.4+ v 21'-28' (Dardano 2006, 104-105). This passage does not specify the title of these five ritualists but only states that they are from Kummani. The catalogue entry refers to a ritual that was performed when a new statue of a divinity was made (Trémouille 2002, 844 n. 27). The name Pabanikki may be a variant spelling of the name of the well-known ritualist Pabanigri, who bears the title of *patili*-priest in the birth ritual *KBo* 5.1 (Mouton 2008, 95-109).[14]

Madi, Tulbi, Taguya, Ašnunigalli, Pabanikki/Pabanigri, and Naniyanni bear Hurrian names. The personal name Madi is related to the Hurrian word *madi*, which means "wisdom" (de Martino 2011, 68; Richter 2012, 248-249). Tulbi/Tulbiya is a hypocoristic and can be connected to the Hurrian verbal root *tulb-*, which might mean "to cause to prosper" (de Martino 2011, 72; Richter 2012, 467). Taguya is another hypocoristic that comes from the verbal root *tag-* "to shine" (de Martino 2011, 71; Richter 2012, 428). Ašnunigalli = Ašnu-Nikkal is a 'Satzname' composed of the divine name Nikkal and the Hurrian verb *ažn-*, the meaning of which remains unknown (de Martino 2011, 66-67; Richter 2012, 58). The name Pabanikki/Pabanigri is composed of the two Hurrian words *f/paba* "mountain" and *negri* "bolt" (de Martino 2011, 69; Richter 2012, 272-273, 295-297). Lastly, Naniyanni too can be considered a Hurrian name, derived from the verbal root *nan-* "to defeat" (de Martino 2011, 68-69; Richter 2012, 265).

The etymology of the name Ammiḫatna is unclear; Prechel (1996, 120 n. 263) and Strauss (2006, 280) labelled it to be West Semitic, whereas Zehnder (2010, 112) did not exclude a Hurrian interpretation, even though this hypothesis is not supported by a convincing analysis of the name. Lastly, Ammiyatala has been analysed as a Hittite personal name composed of the Hittite adjective *ammiyant-* "small" and the suffix *-alla* (Zehnder 2010, 111), although the second element could also be the Luvian derivational suffix *-(a)t(t)alla*.[15]

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[13]) See also the catalogue entries in the fragmentary passage KUB 30 63 v 2'-20' (Dardano 2006, 246-247), which mentions these same ritualists.

[14]) The *patili*-priest belongs to the Kizzuwatnean religious tradition; he was often involved in birth rituals and charged with magic and purification rites usually practiced on the occasion of the birth of a child (Gentili Pieri 1981; Beckman 1983, 235-238; Mouton 2008, 30-33). The expression *patili-* was considered to be of Hurrian origin (Tischler 2001, 546-7), although this etymology has recently been contested (Richter 2012, 307). The *patili*-priest sometimes interacts with *katra/i*-women, who are cult functionaries of northwestern Syrian origin and are mostly documented in Hurro-Kizzuwatnean rituals (Miller 2002).

[15]) See Melchert 2005, 456, for the suffix of a Luvian origin *-(a)t(t)alla*.

	purapši-priest	ᴸᵁ́SANGA ᴰIšḫara, man from Kizzuwatna	ᴸᵁ́AZU ᴰḪebat	no title	*patili*-priest
Ammiḫatna	*KBo* 23.1+ (ritual) *KBo* 31.8+ (catalogue entry) KUB 30.51+ (catalogue entry)	*KBo* 5.2 (ritual)		KUB 31.27+ (catalogue entry) with fem. det. *KBo* 31.25+ (catalogue entry) fragmentary, with fem. det.	
Madi	*KBo* 23.1+ (ritual) *KBo* 31.8+ (catalogue entry) KUB 30.51+ (catalogue entry)		KUB 9.2 (ritual)	KUB 31.27+ (catalogue entry) *KBo* 31.4+ (catalogue entry)	
Tulbi	*KBo* 23.1+ (ritual) *KBo* 31.8+ (catalogue entry) KUB 30.51+ (catalogue entry)			KUB 31.27+ (catalogue entry) *KBo* 3.4+ (catalogue entry)	
Taguya			KUB 9.2 (ritual)		
Ašnunigalli			KUB 9.2 (ritual)		
Ammiyatala				*KBo* 31.4+ (catalogue entry)	
Pabanik(r)i				*KBo* 31.4+ (catalogue entry)	*KBo* 5.1 (ritual)
Naniyanni				*KBo* 31.4+ (catalogue entry)	

As already stated, Ammiḫatna, Madi, and Tulbi[16] all bear the title of *purapši*-priest of Kummani/Kizzuwatna in the ritual *KBo* 23.1+ and in the catalogue entries *KBo* 31.8+ and KUB 30.51+, whereas Ammiḫatna is said to be a SANGA-priest of Išḫara in the ritual *KBo* 5.2, and Madi an AZU-priest of Ḫebat in the ritual KUB 9.2. Despite these variations, I assume that these documents refer to the same individuals.[17]

We wonder whether the function of the *purapši*-priest might have overlapped with the activity of the SANGA-priest of a deity. Taggar-Cohen (2006, 177) and Dijkstra (2015a, 58-60) observed, however, that the *purapši*-priest sometimes performs next to a SANGA-priest, and this indicates that the two titles refer to different offices.[18] Gurney (1977, 45-46 n. 6) argued that the title *purapši*- might have been equivalent to that of the AZU-priest. This assumption is supported only by the fact that Madi bears the title of *purapši*- in both the ritual *KBo* 23.1+ and the catalogue entries *KBo* 31.8+ and KUB 30.51+, whereas he is said to be an AZU-priest of Ḫebat in the ritual KUB 9.2. Although it is possible that Ammiḫatna and Madi might have started their careers as *purapši*-priests and only afterwards became a SANGA-priest and an AZU-priest respectively, what is

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[16]) A priest by the name of Tulbiya is mentioned in the Alalaḫ text *AlT* 180: 20, see von Dassow 2008, 347.

[17]) See Prechel 1996, 119-120; Trémouille 1997, 143-144; Strauss 2006, 280; Taggar-Cohen 2006, 177; Dijkstra 2015a, 58-60.

[18]) See, for example, the *ḫišuwa* text *ChS* I/4 20 Rev. vᶦ.

still in doubt is whether the Hittite scribes who wrote the aforementioned rituals and catalogue entries actually knew the titles and professional positions that these ritualists were holding in Kizzuwatna. As already mentioned, Ammiḫatna is marked as a feminine name in two catalogue entries (*KBo* 31.25+ and KUB 30.63). Zehnder (2010, 112) attributes this error to the fact that feminine personal names such as Ammalli, Ammamma, Ammatalla, Amminnaya, etc. are documented in Hittite texts, and that the scribe who wrote the aforementioned catalogue entries might have connected the name Ammiḫatna to similar Anatolian feminine names.

Thus, even though at a certain point in the transmission of the Kizzuwatnean rituals Hittite scribes no longer knew whether Ammiḫatna was a masculine or a feminine name (see Miller 2004, 478), all of the aforementioned texts support the assumption that the *purapši*-priest was actually a Kizzuwatnean ritualist who performed magic purification rituals.

2.4. The *purapši*-priest in Hittite and Hurro-Hittite religious ceremonies

The *purapši*-priest played a significant role in the performance of the *ḫišuwa* festival. As is well known, the *ḫišuwa* "standard recension" was written down when Queen Pudu-Ḫeba commanded Walwaziti, chief of the scribes, to seek the tablets of Kizzuwatna that preserved the text of this festival. This recension was made up of 13 tablets that described the nine-day festival (Haas 1994, 848-875; Wegner – Salvini 1991; Gordin 2015, 153-154).

The *ḫišuwa*-festival was celebrated in honour of the Storm-god of Manuzi(ya) and other deities of Kummani, as well. The aim of this festival was to assure the well-being of the king and his success in military campaigns. The original Kizzuwatnean festival was performed in Kummani, whereas it was celebrated in the Hittite capital at the time of King Ḫattušili II (Haas 1994, 848-849).

Ḫattušili married Pudu-Ḫeba when he came back from Qadeš and reached the city of Lawazantiya (Hawkins – Weeden 2017, 285-286). His wife was the daughter of the SANGA-priest Pendib-Šarri,[19] who, according to the decree *KBo* 6 29 (i 17-18), was at the service of the goddess Ištar, as already stated. Pudu-Ḫeba remained faithful to her Kizzuwatnean roots and promoted the reintroduction of Hurrian religious traditions; thus, the performance of the *ḫišuwa*-festival was also part of her cultural and religious program (de Martino 2017).

Although the 'standard recension' of the *ḫišuwa*-festival dates to the time of Ḫattušili II, this celebration was already known in the 14th century and not only in Ḫattuša. The tablet Kp 07/78, found at Kayalıpınar/Šamuḫa and written in a Middle Hittite script (Rieken 2009, 210), de-

scribes rites that are comparable with those documented in the eighth tablet of the *ḫišuwa*-festival (Groddek 2011, 112).

Moreover, a passage of KUB 40.102 (v 4'-7'), which preserves the eighth tablet of said festival, states that the offering of *zammuri*-bread was not listed in the ancient tablets (*annallaš ANA ṬUPPA*ᴴᴵ·ᴬ) but was added by King Muwatalli (Dinçol 1989, 6). This passage is an indication that Muwatalli II may have already celebrated the *ḫišuwa*-festival himself, presumably in Tarḫuntašša.

The *purapši*-priest appears in the eighth tablet of the festival. When the king enters the temple of the Storm-god of Manuzi(ya), the *purapši*-priest brings two bovine horns plated with gold and one (or two?) gold *ḫanti-yaraḫḫa*-ornament(s).[20]

The *purapši*-priest and the *tabri*-women (see §3.) perform another rite documented in the eighth tablet of the *ḫišuwa*-festival (*KBo* 24.13 iv 4'-18' = *KBo* 24.48+ ii 8'-28', Haas 1992, 101-104; Dinçol 1995). Each deity celebrated in the festival is represented in the form of a *ḫilištarni*-object, which may be an anthropomorphic statuette (Haas 1992, 104). The *tabri*-women wear these statuettes, whereas the *purapši*-priest takes care of the basket in which the statuettes were placed. Afterwards, all the cult attendants go to the Alda river, where the *rhyta* of the gods and the *ḫilištarni*-objects are washed.

The tenth tablet of the "standard recension" of the festival preserves a long offering ceremony in honour of a series of sacred mountains and rivers; later, the king enters the temple of the Storm-god of Manuzi(ya) and performs several ritual actions. Offerings are given to the deities. A passage in *KBo* 15.52+ (v 24-39) states that offerings are also given to the substitutive image (*ḫimma-*) of the deity Nubatik, and that the *purapši*-priest of the Storm-god of Manuzi(ya) puts this image in its proper place.

Afterwards, two musicians (ᴸᵁ·ᴹᴱˢBALAG.DI "drummers"), standing on the roof of the temple, dance in fighting gear in front of the deity and sing a battle hymn[21] (v 33-39, Schuol 2004, 160; Groddek 2010, 370, 378). A *purapši*-priest, who also stands on the roof, sings the battle hymn in front of the king and says: "Oh king, fear not! The Storm-god will give you, the king, (your) enemies (and) their lands under your feet, (and) you will crush them like empty vessels," (v 40-53, Groddek 2010, 371, 378; Dijkstra 2015a, 60; CHD P/3, 383).

Subsequently fourteen soldiers take part in the ceremony; they leave their bronze maces of the Storm-god of Manuzi(ya) behind and take up their own weapons. The *purapši*-priest accompanies four soldiers into the gatehouse of the Storm-god of Manuzi(ya), where they act out a battle scene (v 54-58, Groddek 2010, 371, 378).

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[19]) See the decree issued by Ḫattušili III designating prince Tutḫaliya, which is known as his 'Autobiography' (ii 80-82, iii 1, Otten 1981, 16-17).

[20]) See Oettinger (2001, 84-85) for the possible meaning of this word, which he translates as "Stirnmaske".

[21]) See Puhvel 1997, 302 and Groddek 2010, 390 for the meaning of the word *kuwayaralla*.

The sixth column of the tablet refers to offerings given to Zababa, the war deity.

The encouraging sentences declaimed by the *purapši*-priest might refer to the result of an oracle inquiry that he perhaps conducted; if so, he acts here as the messenger of a divine announcement that assured the king of success and divine protection (Dijkstra 2015b, 14). This passage might indeed support the aforementioned assumption that the *purapši*-priest was also a diviner.

The rites in honour of Zababa continue in the following tablet of the *ḫišuwa*-festival (the eleventh, Groddek 2011). A soldier brings the offerings to the god, while an adorned *purapši*-priest stands on the roof, holding a weapon (i 20-23, Groddek 2011, 113, 119). We do not know what kind of adornment the word *unuwanza* refers to; it might indicated that the *purapši*-priest wore a parade uniform.

The *purapši*-priest is mentioned also in other Kizzuwatnean festivals; the tablet *KBo* 19.29 obv. 2, 18, for example, records a festival celebrated in the city of Lawazantiya, presumably in honour of Ḫebat. As Trémouille (1997, 110-119) argued, the rites described in this text show close similarities to those that were part of the *ḫišuwa*-festival. Thus, a "standard recension" of the *ḫišuwa*-festival might have been composed that included rites mentioned in the tablets of local ceremonies.

The *purapši*-priest also takes part in the festival celebrated in Kummani and Lawazantiya in honour of Teššob and Ḫebat (KUB 54.36+, Trémouille 1996). The *purapši*-priest performs an evocation ritual with the aim of attracting the gods from the sea and the mountains (obv. 21'-22').

The *purapši*-priests are mentioned in a passage of the divinatory text *IBoT* 2.129 (obv. 30-32), which collects several oracular inquiries concerning military, political, and religious problems. This passage mentions that the *purapši*-priest had not given the god a pomegranate,[22] which the deity usually receives (Berman 1982, 95-96; Taggar-Cohen 2006, 286-287). The following passage in *IBoT* 2.129 (obv. 33-35) reports that the god may be angry because of the matter of the *tabri*-men and the pomegranate. This passage establishes another connection between the *purapši*-priests and the *tabri*-attendants, thereby confirming that they acted together during the ritual performances.

Lastly, the *purapši*-priest is mentioned in an administrative text. A fragmentary inventory of textiles and clothing (KUB 42.106) records goods that were under the control or responsibility of a *purapši*-priest (Siegelovà 1986, 382). Another passage refers to goods under the responsibility of the *šalašḫa*-men of the queen (obv. 3').[23] This text supports the assumption that the *purapši*-priests

were involved in the redistribution of goods among the various functionaries of the Hittite administrative and religious institutions.

3. The *tabri*-attendants

The word (GIŠ)*tabri*- is documented in Hittite rituals that belong to the Hurro-Kizzuwatnean tradition; it occurs as *taprit*- in Luwian cuneiform texts (Starke 1990, 218). The term (GIŠ)*tabri* appears in Hittite texts only from the beginning of the 14th century onwards (Trémouille 1991, 78). It is usually considered a Hurrian expression (Tischler 1991, 132-134; Trémouille 1991, 77 n. 3; Richter 2012, 441-442) and can be connected etymologically with the word GIS*tabrinni* "juniper (?)" (Richter 2012, 441).

As Trémouille (1991) argued, the (GIŠ)*tabri* presumably was either a plinth or a base on which a divine statue was placed. It may also have referred to a more elaborate structure on which the statues were arranged.

The cult personnel responsible for the *tabri*-structure and presumably also for the cult images were the *tabri*-men and -women (Trémouille 1991). As already mentioned, the *tabri*-attendants and the *purapši*-priests occur together in the *ḫišuwa*-festival and in other Kizzuwatnean rituals such as KUB 54.36+, which describes a festival for Teššob and Ḫebat (Trémouille 1996).

An intriguing Hittite text, KUB 56.19 (Beckman 1983, 256-258; Ünal 2003, 380-388; de Roos 2007, 255-260; Tischler 2016, 24-29), mentions a *tabri*-woman as well as the *purapši*-priests. Although the text consists on the whole of promises made to deities by various people, the content of the first column differs from that of the second.

The first column contains extracts from vows (de Roos 2007, 247 n. 617). Each vow promises that a festival will be performed if the invoked deity fulfils the desired request. The second column relates four episodes in which members of the Hittite court were involved in some way.

The first paragraph in the second column (ii 1-7) deals with the case of a female child who presents an offering to the gods, presumably in exchange for their assistance at her birth. The place where the offering takes place is to be ascertained by means of an oracular investigation.

The second paragraph (ii 8-12) starts with the expression *UMMA* ᴰUTU-*ŠI*-*MA* "Thus (states) His Majesty". The Hittite sovereign refers to the birth of a female child by the name of Ḫilešdu[24]. Although these lines are badly preserved, it may be inferred that the *purapši*-priests were asked to perform a magic ritual in order to prevent Ḫilešdu from suffering any possible evil predicted at the time of her birth: "(ii 11-12) all the *purapši*-priests will enter [...], we will determine [her fate?]; thereafter they will set her in order."[25]

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[22] Concerning the word *nurati* "pomegranate", see CHD N, 475.

[23] See CHD Š/1, 89-90 with previous literature.

[24] See Zehnder 2010, 154 for this name.

[25] See CHD P/3, 384.

The following paragraph (ii 13-27) deals with a complicated situation involving the Hittite king and his son, the heir to the throne. The former king had installed one of his daughters as a *tabri*-woman and assigned her to the cult of the Storm-god (ii 13-14). Thereafter, a serious controversy arose between those who claimed that the princess should be assigned to the Storm-god and those who believed that she should serve Šarruma instead. In order to resolve this problem, the king sent his son to the Ḫurri Land, where he consulted the elders. In spite of this, the matter was not resolved, and when the king died, his son, who had at that time ascended to the throne, continued to investigate it. He prayed that the Storm-god would give him a sign in an attempt to avoid any further oracular investigations.

In the aforementioned passage (ll. 13-27), the princess who was installed as a *tabri*-attendant is also said to be a ᴹᵁᴹᵁˢ*taniti*. This expression, which was previously considered to be a personal name (Trémouille 1991, 98), can now safely be interpreted as the title of a cult attendant. The word *d/tanit-* occurs not only in Hittite cuneiform tablets, but also in Luvian cuneiform texts and in Hieroglyphic Luvian inscriptions (in the form *tanisa-*). It means "stele" and "stone installation" (Melchert 1993, 205; Hawkins 2000, 243; Giusfredi 2016).[26] Thus, the cited passage supports the assumption that the *tabri*-woman and the ᴹᵁᴺᵁˢ*taniti* had either identical or quite similar functions.

The passage preserved in ll. 28-34 of KUB 56.19 refers to a certain Alalimi and to a vow made by the king. Even though this passage is fragmentary and we know of several different Hittite personages who bear the name of Alalimi (van den Hout 1995, 138-142), I think he may be the dignitary documented in texts datable to the time of Ḫattušili II and Tutḫaliya III. In fact, many votive texts can be dated to the reign of Ḫattušili II (de Roos 2007, 30-31); KUB 56.19 is a list of vows. Moreover, the mention of the *purapši*-priests, the *tabri*-women, and the Hurrian religious tradition fits in well with the religious climate of the Hittite kingdom at the time of Queen Pudu-Ḫeba.

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[26]) Kloekhorst (2008, 828) assumed that the Hittite word *tanit-*, the Cuneiform Luvian word *danit-* as well as the Hieroglyphic Luvian expression *tanisa-/taniti-* were semantically connected with the Indo-European verb *d^heh_1 "to put". In my opinion, we cannot exclude a Hurrian etymology of the word *danit-*, owing to the fact that KUB 56 19 documents an unequivocal connection between the *daniti*-priesthood and the Hurrian religious and cultural environment. The Luvian word *d/tanit-* might be a Hurrian loan word, although the Hurrian term **tan=i=ti* is not documented. Nevertheless, this hypothetical Hurrian word follows the rules of Hurrian noun formation and could derive from the verbal root *tan-* "to make" (Richter 2012, 436-438) plus the suffix *-i(=)di*, which occurs in other Hurrian nouns derived from verbal roots (Giorgieri 2000, 200-201; Wilhelm 2004, 103). Thus, the Luvian word might mean "a manufactured object". The Hurrian word *taniǧi* (*tan=i=ǧe*), which also derives from the verbal root *tan-*, is documented in Hurrian and Hurro-Hittite texts and refers to a cult object (Haas 1998, 244).

Finally, palaeographical analysis also supports the assumption that KUB 56.19 dates to the last decades of the 13ᵗʰ century BCE (Ünal 2003, 381).

If KUB 56.19 dates to the end of the 13ᵗʰ century, we can assume that the king who installed one of his daughters as a *tabri*-woman was indeed Ḫattušili II, and that his son and successor Tutḫaliya took responsibility for determining the divinity to which she would be assigned.

The fact that the royal couple Ḫattušili and Pudu-Ḫeba destined one of their daughters for the *tabri*-priesthood is another indication of their interest in the Hurrian cults and religious traditions that they renewed and promoted. Ḫattušili II might have intended to restore an ancient Kizzuwatnean tradition, but apparently he did not know to which divinity the newly installed *tabri*-woman should be assigned. Thus, he sent his son to the Ḫurri Land to consult the elders.

Unfortunately, the reference to "the Ḫurri Land" is vague, and no region or city is specified in this text. An important temple of the Storm-god stood in Aleppo, but if this was the destination of the king's son, then we would expect the city to be named in the text. Another important sanctuary of the god Teššob was located in the city of Kaḫat/Tell Barri, but this part of Syria was at that time under Assyrian control (Bonatz 2014).

The "elders" who were consulted might have been old men, presumably either priests or scribes, who still remembered this ancient custom. This episode recalls a passage from the fragmentary text *KBo* 26.88, which is part of the Kumarbi myth; in fact, this passage, although it is poorly preserved, refers to the installation of the *patili*-priests who are to be hired from among the wise people in the land of Mittani (CHD P/2, 244-246).

Lastly, the aforementioned passage in KUB 56.19 leads us to assume that the status of ᴹᵁᴺᵁˢ*taniti* was appropriate for a princess. This was no longer the case in the first millennium BCE according to Tell Ahmar Inscription no 1, § 24, which is a narrative composed by a ruler of the small kingdom of Masuwari during the late 10ᵗʰ or 9ᵗʰ century BCE. The ruler states that he installed the daughter of his defeated enemy as a *taniti*-attendant of the Storm-god (Hawkins 2000, 239-243; Giusfredi 2016, 302).

4. Concluding Remarks

Both the *purapši*-priests and the *tabri*-attendants were originally members of the cult personnel of the kingdom of Kizzuwatna. The etymology of these two titles connects them to the Hurrian tradition.

The *purapši*-priests and the *tabri*-attendants occur in Hittite texts only from the 14ᵗʰ century forward when Kizzuwatna became part of the kingdom of Ḫatti, and the Hurro-Kizzuwatnean religious tradition started to be appreciated by the Hittite court.

The *purapši*-priests were ritualists who performed purification rituals and, presumably, also diviners. Their ac-

tivities in the official Hittite cult are recorded mainly in the tablets of the ḫišuwa-festival, of which Queen Pudu-Ḫeba was the main patron. In the 'standard recension' of the instructions for this festival, the *purapši*-priest plays a significant role in the rites and performances intended to assure the king's well-being and his military success.

The *tabri*-attendants could be either men[27] or women. The *tabri*-women took care of the divine simulacra and shrines. The title ᴹᵁᴺᵁˢ*tabri*- alternates with that of ᴹᵁᴺᵁˢ*tanita*- in the aforementioned passage in KUB 56.19. The latter title is also documented in an Iron Age inscription from Tell Ahmar. The *tabri*-priesthood actually stemmed from an old Hurrian tradition and could be conferred on members of the royal family. The *purapši*-priests and the *tabri*-attendants are often mentioned in the same Kizzuwatnean rituals and festivals.

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27) For the *tabri*-men, see Trémouille 1991.

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