

4. MALE PRIESTHOOD

This chapter will present a description of three groups of male priests. Their gender identification follows the Sumerian determinative LU, indicating male.

In Chapter 2, Hittite texts were surveyed in order to identify the main cult personnel, especially those assumed to be the priests (both male and female) on the basis of their respective Sumerograms indicating priests' titles. Three main groups were identified: two male groups, ^{LU}SANGA and ^{LU}GUDU₁₂, and a female group, ^{MUNUS}AMA.DINGIR^{LIM}. The examination of the text ITP in Chapter 3 justified this observation. However, another seemingly important group was added in Chapter 3, the ^{LU}É.DINGIR^{LIM}, for within the ITP it looked like this was a general title for the priesthood. As a group of priests they were mentioned in the last text treated in Chapter 2, a cultic text from Zippalanda (2.6). In the following, therefore, three categories of male priests are presented: ^{LU}SANGA (= the SANGA-priest), ^{LU}GUDU₁₂ (= the GUDU-priest), and ^{LU}É.DINGIR^{LIM} (= the Temple-Man).

4.1 THE SANGA-PRIEST

4.1.1 Introduction

This sub-chapter presents a description of the ^{LU}SANGA in the Hittite kingdom. The texts used here date from Old Hittite times to the late stages of the New Kingdom.

The Sumerogram SANGA is attested in almost all the text genres of the Hittite corpus: historical texts, letters, administrative texts, catalogs of texts, the Hittite laws, cult inventories, prayers, and all the different kinds of rituals written in Hittite, Hattic, Luwian, and Hurrian. If we speak of the priest *par excellence*, it is the SANGA-priest,³¹⁹ of which the most supportive evidence lies in the descriptions of establishing or renewing temples and cult centers. When a new building of a temple is erected, a SANGA-priest is also installed, as seen, for example, in KUB 38.1 i 1'-14'. The absence of a SANGA-priest for new temples is mentioned in KBo 2.1 ii 30-31, 38-39, iii 6, 12. As can be expected, the majority of the texts mentioning the SANGA-priest are religious texts, such as the descriptions of rituals and festivals.

³¹⁹ See the general survey by Pecchioli Daddi (1982) 343-369.

The Sumerograms ^{LU}SANGA appear in many texts of the Hittite corpus. The Hittite word standing behind the Sumerogram SANGA with the complement -i has been recognized already by Goetze as the word *šankunni* / *šakkunni* (2.8.1 above p. 30).

A listing of the attestations of ^{LU}šankunni / *šakkunni* and ^{LU}SANGA in the texts has revealed that out of more than four hundred texts, only about ten use the Hittite word *šankunni* / *šakkunni*, while all the rest have the Sumerograms ^{LU}SANGA, which can probably also stand for another Hittite word of an -a stem.

šankunni / *šakkunni* attestations, written in Hittite and not in a Sumerogram, seem to indicate Hittite texts of a later date. These texts are from the following CTH numbers:³²⁰

- 81 - Apology of Hattušili III: KBo 3.6= KUB 1.1; 2.1.
- 235 - Lists of women: KBo 2.31.
- 237 - Lists of persons: KBo 19.28.
- 242 - Inventories of Metals, tools weapons: KBo 16.83.³²¹
- 482 - The transfer of the goddess of the night to Šamuha by Muršili II: KUB 32.133.³²²
- 500 - Fragments of Kizzuwatna rituals: KBo 22.49.
- 718 - Most of the texts (13 in number, with some duplicates) telling of the deity (Ištar) Pirinkir rituals.³²³

A question arises as to whether this Hittite noun actually stood behind the Sumerogram SANGA from ancient times onwards, and whether this was also the case in the Hattian tradition, since the texts presented above that mention the word *šankunni* seem to originate in texts of Hurrian cultic traditions and must have belonged to the New Kingdom period. This does not exclude the existence of the noun behind the Sumerogram SANGA in Old Hittite, however.

³²⁰ Pecchioli Daddi also lists under CTH 738 (festival for Tetešhapi) the text KBo 19.161 fragment a 7'; however, I do not think the reading *šja-ak-ku-ni-i[a]* actually shows the title of the priest since throughout this long text the SANGA sign is used.

³²¹ See Košak (1982) 87.

³²² CHD Š1: 186^a.

³²³ Beckman (2002) 35-41 mentions the frequent denotation of the *ša(n)kunni*-priest in syllabic writing as well as in the form ^{LU}SANGA-niš (GIŠ), "a spelling not attested elsewhere" (p. 36). He suggests relating these texts to CTH 481 dealing with the Deity of the Night (p. 37). On the whole the texts of this deity (Pirinkir) are of Mesopotamian-Elamite tradition. See also Beckman (1999).

4.1.2 Titles of SANGA-priests

According to the text ITP (Chapter 3), the titles of the SANGA-priest were: ^{LÚ}SANGA GAL (or GAL.GAL), “senior SANGA-priest”, ^{LÚ}SANGA TUR.TUR, “junior SANGA-priest”, and *šuppiš* ^{LÚ}SANGA, “sacred SANGA-priest”. These might not have been standard titles, but may only have served to distinguish one group of priests from another. The survey of the large number of Hittite texts adds several other such “titles” which will be specified in what follows. Such are, for example, the terms ^{LÚ}^{MES} SANGA KUR.KUR (4.1.2.3 below p. 146) or ^{LÚ} SANGA.GIBIL (4.1.2.6 below p. 154), which are added according to the ritual context.

4.1.2.1 GAL ^{LÚ}SANGA / ^{LÚ}SANGA GAL

The SANGA-priest at the top of the hierarchy seems to be the GAL ^{LÚ}SANGA, “the chief SANGA-priest”, which may also be written as GAL ^{LÚ}^{MES} SANGA, or “overseer of the SANGA-priests”. These forms appear in KUB 34.61 8, a ritual conducted by the princes and princesses with the GAL ^{LÚ}^{MES} SANGA. The text seems to include a recitation for the well-being of what is presumably the king’s progeny. Whether or not the speaker is the SANGA-priest is not clear.

Another overseer of the SANGA-priests is the crown prince Kantuzzili in KUB 30.56 iii 7’-9’, who is mentioned on this catalog tablet as an author of a ritual.³²⁴ The fact that the crown prince is referred to as overseer of the SANGA-priests can be understood in light of the activity of princes and princesses as priests in the Hittite kingdom, as will be discussed below. In KBo 12.140 (left side), a cult inventory made by the king of the land of Išuwa, GAL ^{LÚ}SANGA seems to appear in relation to receiving something. He is mentioned next to a Man of the Storm-god(?) of the land of Harziuna and a chief cook from the land of Dunna, and since these functionaries are named according to their lands, they must be in a high position hierarchically within the cult.

The text KBo 2.31, with a parallel HT 2, is a list of women singers.³²⁵ Two columns of the tablet KBo 2.31 were preserved from a six column tablet on the basis of HT 2. The tablet is divided into paragraphs, including lists of female singers from different towns of a region. These singers must have been professionals.

³²⁴ Laroche, *CTH*, p. 181. The restoration of [GAL ^{LÚ}^{MES} SANGA seems reasonable.

³²⁵ For a treatment of these texts see Rutherford (2004) 377-394.

Each paragraph indicates the number of the women identified as singers, the town each comes from, and at the end of a passage or several passages, the total number of the singers with their relation to a certain district. Such is KBo 2.31 obv. 5’-6’: ŠU.NIGIN 14 MUNUS^{MES} ŠİR / HALZI ^{URU}Kar-ta-pa-ḫa (“Total of fourteen women singers from the district of the town Kartapaḫa”). Column i line 1 of HT 2 starts with: 1 ^{MUNUS}ŠİR ŠA ^{LÚ}GAL.SANGA (“One female singer belonging to the chief SANGA-priest”). This first line initiates a list of five female singers who belong to several palaces: the palace of His Majesty, of Ḫūḫḫa, of Šiyana, and of Karupaḫa, all located in the town of Katapa. I am tempted to say that there is only one “chief SANGA-priest” in that town, and the palaces are institutions which provide for the cult.³²⁶

Next to the writing GAL SANGA there is one instance of GAL-*iš* ^{LÚ}SANGA, which the *CHD* puts under *šalliš šankunniš* as “high-ranking priest” together with the writing ^{LÚ}SANGA GAL.³²⁷ However, a distinction should be made between GAL SANGA “chief, head of a group of SANGA-priests”, and SANGA GAL “great, high priest”.³²⁸ One would have assumed that there is no difference in status between the two functionaries and that the difference is only in the writing, but we find that of this second form, ^{LÚ}SANGA GAL, the texts mention several priests of this type, which means that there is not one exclusive office of a high priest, but several priests can occupy the highest positions. Priestesses can also hold this position.

This is clear in KUB 20.88,³²⁹ which opens with a ceremony in which several high priests to different deities participate. The ceremony starts with two “high SANGA-priests” (written [2 ^{LÚ}]SANGA GAL), and two “[high] SANGA-priestesses” (written 2 MUNUS^{MES} SANGA [GAL]), kissing on the hands and mouth. In the following lines of the text, the ceremony shows well organized relationships between the different priests who are not again referred

³²⁶ See below under the sub-chapter on the NIN.DINGIR 6.2.3.3 p. 396.

³²⁷ *CHD* Š1: 183. This passage of the obverse of KBo 11.29 describes distribution of sacrifices to different deities by a SANGA-priest, AMA-DINGIR-priestesses, and a GUDU-priest. However, the form GAL-*iš* ^{LÚ}SANGA does not appear throughout the previous parts of the text. Obv. 3, 14 indicates only a ^{LÚ}SANGA-*ša* without GAL. Can GAL here stand for a “cup”?

³²⁸ See *CHD* Š1: 94^b and 99^b.

³²⁹ See below under ^{MUNUS}SANGA 5.1.3 p. 320-321 for the translation of the text, and see also *CHD* Š: 188^b.

to as ^{LÚ}SANGA GAL, but rather, are identified with a deity. The scheme of the ritual goes as follows:³³⁰

Two high SANGA-priests kiss right hand and mouth of each other
Two high SANGA-priestesses kiss right hand and mouth of each other

The SANGA-priest of the Storm-god extends a hand three times and bows
to the SANGA-priest of Telipinu and the SANGA-priest of [Kattahḫa]
he then extends a hand three times and bows
to the SANGA-priestess of Telipinu and the SANGA-priestess of Kattahḫa
then he steps back

Another SANGA-priest of the Storm-god
extends a hand three times to each person on the scene
bows and steps back

The SANGA-priest of the deity IMIN.IMIN.BI comes in
The right hand and the mouth of the SANGA-priest of Telipinu
and the SANGA-priest of Kattahḫa he kisses
He goes back and bows then he leaves

The SANGA-priestess of Telipinu the right hand and mouth of an unclear priest she kisses
She bows and goes back
The SANGA-priestess of Kattahḫa the right hand and mouth of an unclear priest she kisses
She bows and goes back

The ceremony described here, inasmuch as we understand it correctly, establishes that there are at the beginning four “high SANGA-priests”, two male and two female: SANGA-priests of Telipinu and of Kattahḫa, and the two SANGA-priestesses, one each of these same two deities. Two SANGA-priests of the Storm-god join them, as does a SANGA-priest of the deity IMIN.IMIN.BI. However, aside from the first four, none of them is titled ^{LÚ}SANGA GAL even though they are likely to have been of the same rank in this ceremony. More obvious is the major role played by the two SANGA-priests of the Storm-god since they shake hands with all the participants and kiss the male priests. It is clear that, from a hierarchical point of view, the SANGA-priests of the Storm-god are in a higher position. But again, they are not termed ^{LÚ}SANGA GAL. I stress this point since it may very well be that in other texts, when the title is written ^{LÚ}SANGA, it could have denoted a ^{LÚ}SANGA GAL. Indeed, this could show that a “high SANGA-priest or priestess” was a position held by several priests, either to the same deity (such as here to the Storm-god) or to different ones, such as Telipinu or Kattahḫa. This text (KUB 20.88) is a ritual

³³⁰ See on this ritual Kühne (1999) 90-95.

performed by several categories of priests together with the crown prince. It may suggest that the priests belonged to the capital, though there is no indication for the place where the ritual occurs.³³¹

4.1.2.2 ^{LÚ}SANGA TUR / ^{LÚ}SANGA AR-KU-TIM

Next to the “high priest” there is the “low-ranking priest” who appears in the ITP as ^{LÚ}^{MES}SANGA TUR.TUR³³² (3.5 above, §10/2 line 3 p. 55). It may be compared with the form ^{LÚ}^{MES}SANGA.TUR in a broken colophon of KBo 22.210 rev. 2', a text of a ritual description according to its obverse.

Another text, KBo 11.46, describes the 29th day of the ANTAḤŠUM-festival for Ea. Here the adjective used for the ^{LÚ}^{MES}SANGA is TUR^{TIM}. However, the priests are also described as *šuppaeš*, “sacred”.³³³ They are mentioned in relation to a cultic meal, and next to them are listed a number of SANGA-priests affiliated with different deities.

KBo 11.46 rev. v: (see also below 5.2.2 pp. 342-343)

- 13' ta ^{LÚ}^{MES} MUḤALDIM^{ḪLA} UZU.GU₄ ti-an-zi

14' ^{LÚ}^{GIS}GIDRU pí-ra-an ḫu-u-ṽa-a-i ta NAP-TA-NIM
15' ^{LÚ}^{MES}SANGA. TUR^{TIM} šu-up-pa-e-eš (erasure, starting next line)

16' ^{LÚ}SANGA ŠA dU^{URU}Ḫa-la-ap³³⁴
17' ^{MUNUS}AMA.DINGIR^{LIM} <d>Ḫal-ki-aš ^{LÚ}^{MES}UM-MI-ḪA-NU-TIM
18' [^{LÚ}SA]NGA dLAMMA ^{LÚ}SANGA dA-x[]x-nim-aš
Broken

The cooks set (down) ox meat.

The scepter-bearer runs ahead. ‘A cultic meal’ (is to take place/is announced).

The sacred low-ranking³³⁵ SANGA-priests:

The SANGA-priest of the Storm-god of Ḫalap,
The AMA.DINGIR^{LIM}-priestess of the goddess Ḫalki, the *ummiyanu*-men

The SANGA-priest of LAMMA, the SANGA-priest of the deity A[

³³¹ This ritual should be compared with the rituals engaging the prince: the *ḫaššumaš*-festival (IBoT 1.29), and the Telipinu festival (KUB 53.4).

³³² The double sign TUR stands for the plural form of the adjective.

³³³ For this title see next paragraph.

³³⁴ Following is an erased sign, -aš.

³³⁵ Compare CHD Š: 183^a.

The line divider between lines 15' and 16' divides the priests mentioned here into two groups: the sacred-low ranking priests, and a list of specific priests to certain deities. It may be suggested that the specific list counts the group of the low-ranking priests participating in the feast. Beside the male priests there is also one priestess. They are all sacred priests.

Once, in a ritual text (KBo 30.164+KUB 44.13 iv 3'), the Akkadian title for second-rank SANGA-priests appears:

[x LÚ]^{MES} SANGA 1 ^{MUNUS} SANGA ^dM[i-iz-zu-ul-la]
[LÚ/MUNUS]^{MES} SANGA AR-KU-TIM 1 LÚ 1 MUNUS ar-za-na-la-aš
[MUNUS]^{MES} zi-»in«-en-tu-ḫi-e-eš ḫu-u-ma-an-te-eš [LÚ]^{MES} GUDU₁₂
a-ša-an-zi.

[three?] SANGA-priests, one SANGA-priestess of the deity M[izzulla], the second-ranking³³⁶ SANGA-priests/esses, one man and one woman of the *arzana* (-house), all the *zintuḫi*-women, (and) the GUDU-priests sit down.

AR-KU-TIM is included here under TUR though the Sumerogram of this Akkadian word is EGIR, since I believe the Hittite writer thought of them as having the same meaning as in KBo 11.46, where he used TUR^{TIM 337}.

4.1.2.3 LÚ^{MES} SANGA KUR.KUR

This title for the SANGA-priests, to be translated “the SANGA-priests of the lands”, appears only in a few texts: KBo 16.68+ rev. iv 21, KBo 30.152 rt. col. 2-3+ KBo 20.74 obv. ii⁷ 7'-9', KUB 43.29 iii 9', KUB 53.4 rev. 33' and KUB 53.17 iii 21'.

KBo 16.68+ is a ration list belonging to the KILAM-festival.³³⁸

In the rev. iv comes the following:

21] LÚ^{MES} SANGA KUR.KUR^{TIM} LÚ^{MES} dIŠKUR
22] x-an-zi Û ^{GIS}GIDRU^{HLA} A-NA URU-ŠU-NU

³³⁶ Akkadian *arkūm* (w) *arkūm* “rear, hindmost; second-ranking, lesser” in CDA: 434. See also Popko (2001) 329, who gives the Hittite equivalent *dān pedan* to this Akkadogram.

³³⁷ This can be seen in the discussion of GAL as *hantezzi*- in the CHD Š1: 100^a. If GAL means *hantezzi*-, or “first” in the sense of high, then the opposite, EGIR (Akk. ARKUTIM, Hittite *appezzi*-) means “last” and, in a hierarchy, “low”.

³³⁸ Singer, *StBoT* 27: 163, and *StBoT* 28: 113.

- 23 pé-e-da-an³³⁹]-zi
] The priests of the lands (and) the Men of the Storm-god[
]... and the scepters to their town[they carry?].

KUB 53.4, a description of the festival for the deity Telipinu, has on the rev. 32'-34' at the end of the fifth day of the festival a double dividing line, starting the sixth day as follows:

- 32' I-NA UD 6.KAM ^dTe-li-pi-nu-un ^{GIS}tup-pi an-da ti-an-zi
pi-da-aš-ša-aḫ[-ḫa-an-zi]
33' LÚ^{MES} SANGA KUR.KUR^{MES-TIM} LÚ^{MES} SANGA ^{URU}A-tal-aḫ-zi-ja³⁴⁰
LÚ^{MES} SANGA ḪUR.SAG Ša-a-kur-ja³⁴¹
34' I-NA URU-ŠU pa-iz-zi Û DINGIR^{MES} -ŠU-NU ar-ḫa pé-e-da-an-[zi]

On the sixth day they put Telipinu inside the chest and br[ing him to his] place. The SANGA-priests of the lands, the SANGA-priests of the town Atal(a)ḫaziya, and the SANGA-priests of mount Šakuriya, (each) goes to his house, and they carry away their gods.³⁴²

The festival ends with this passage, and the different priests go back to their houses carrying their gods. This means that the gods go together with the SANGA-priests, and that this large festival for Telipinu is attended by SANGA-priests from other parts of the country. The SANGA-priests listed here are: a) of the lands, b) the town Atalḫaziya, c) of Mount Šakuriya. On the previous paragraphs of the text we encounter only the SANGA-priests of the town of Kašḫa. It seems to me that the “SANGA-priests of the lands” can only mean the priests who come from outside the town where the festival is taking place, in this case the priests of Atalḫaziya and mount Šakuriya.

On KUB 43.29 the LÚ^{MES} SANGA KUR.KUR^{TIM} appear twice, once on obv. ii 3 and again on the rev. 9'. Both passages produce hardly any clear context. The fragment likely describes a festival that includes the participation of the *HAZANNU* of Ḫattuša, that is, the city's “mayor/ administrator”, and so must be some major festival celebrated at the capital. From it we learn about the numbers of SANGA-priests visiting from outside the capital (on KBo 30.152 r. col. 2-3+KBo 20.74 ii⁷ 7'-9'):

³³⁹ For this possible restoration compare with the next text, KUB 53.4 rev. line 34'.

³⁴⁰ See RGTC 6/2: 17.

³⁴¹ See RGTC 6/2: 133.

³⁴² Compare Haas and Jakob-Rost (1984) 76, 78.

an-da-ma 78 LÚ^{MEŠ} SANGA KUR.KUR^{TIM} TUG BĀR-it ūa-as-ša-an-zi
Next they clothe seventy-eight SANGA-priests of the lands in
sackcloth.

These SANGA-priests are probably, according to the clothing they receive, low-ranking priests. Their number is very high, however, and they probably come from the Hittite lands outside the capital, and therefore they are called “priests of the lands”. Since they carry with them statues of their deities, they create an assembly of many deities during the festival. The word ‘lands’, then, indicates areas within the Hittite domain.

Since the obligations in the text of ITP are imposed on the priesthood of Ḫattuša alone, as suggested in Chapter 3, this term does not appear in that text.

4.1.2.4 *šuppiš* LÚ^{MEŠ} SANGA / LÚ^{MEŠ} SANGA KÙ.GA

The adjective *šuppi-* means “holy, sacred, consecrated” as well as “pure”. Since the SANGA-priests with this title are counted along with other priests, they must have been regarded by the Hittites as a different type of SANGA-priests. We have already noticed this separate group of priests, *šuppaeš* LÚ^{MEŠ} SANGA, in both Chapter 2 and Chapter 3. In the second chapter we quoted Arnuwanda and Ašmunikal’s prayer regarding the plunder of the cult centers in the north of the Hittite Kingdom, saying that the Kaška people took the cult personnel as slaves or they made them run away. Among the types of priests counted are also *šuppaeš* LÚ^{MEŠ} SANGA (2.2 above, col. ii 10’, p. 9). In the text of ITP we learn of this type of priests by the indication of a special festival for them (3.5, §4 line 42 above p. 43). We noted there the possible meaning of this title as a derivation from their duty in the temple according to KUB 14.8 rev. 44’ KBo 14.142 (with KUB 14.10 14’): *na-at-ša-ma-aš šu-up-pa-ya še-eš-ki-iš-kán-zi* (“And they will sleep sacredly”). According to this text, these priests may have conducted incubation oracles.³⁴³

The “sacred SANGA-priest/s” appear mainly in the large festivals, in the ANTAḪŠUM-festival, the KI.LAM-festival, the *nuntarriyašḫa*-festival, and in rituals at the *ḫešta*-house. The different status of the “sacred” SANGA-priest can be seen in the texts listed below.

³⁴³ Compare CHD Š1:190^a e’. See 4.1.6.9 below p. 201, and Mouton (2004).

A) KBo 10.23+11.67 iv 15

At the portico of the gods the SANGA-priest of the Tutelary-Deity, lets the sacred SANGA-priest of the Tutelary-Deity go in front.³⁴⁴ A *palwatalla*-boy stands. The SANGA-priest of the Tutelary-Deity, however, holds a silver *tapišana*-vessel filled with wine. The sacred SANGA-priest of the Tutelary-Deity walks on the right-side, and the *palwatalla*-boy walks [on the left].³⁴⁵

B) This very much resembles the picture in KBo 10.24 ii 2-9.³⁴⁶ Here, the sacred SANGA-priest of the Storm-god walks; the *alamzu*-man walks to the left of the SANGA-priest of the Storm-god, holding him his *ipulli*; and the SANGA-priest of the Tutelary-Deity walks on his left holding the silver *tapišana*-vessel.

C) KBo 10.26 i 28-31³⁴⁷

The overseer of the bodyguards brings in the silver *zau* of the sacred SANGA-priest of the town of Zippalanda. He places it by the wall to the king’s right. Then, in i 32-42:

Behind him the scepter-bearer holds the thick bread. The overseer of the body-guards puts forth to the king the silver *zau* on the right side of the wall. The scepter-bearer, however, puts down for him the thick bread. Three sacred SANGA-priests of the town Arinna, and their cupbearers, a SANGA-priest of Zippalanda, a *tazzelli*-man and their cupbearers, hold their cups, and sit down in front of the king.

D) KBo 11.38 ii 38-42, 48-51.³⁴⁸

During the ceremonies the following functionaries are mentioned sitting in front of the king:

the princes take a seat. Three(?) sacred SANGA-priests of the town Arinna, and their cupbearers; the <SANGA> of Zippalanda, the *tazzelli* and their cupbearers holding their cups, are seated in front of the king.

(The cooks bring two kinds of meat)

Lines 48-51: But, when the cooks place (the meat) in front, the sacred SANGA-priests of Ḫattuša, the lords of Ḫattuša, and the AMA.DINGIR-priestess of the deity Ḫalki sit down.

³⁴⁴ See CHD Š: 183^a and also Singer, *StBoT* 28: 13.

³⁴⁵ Compare also KBo 25.180 rev⁷ 5’-8’: “[the SANGA-priest of the LAMMA]-deity?, and the sacred SANGA-priest of the LAMMA-deity, the *palwa*[*talla*-man walk at his side].... the SANGA-priest of the LAMMA-deity, however, a silver *tapišana*-vessel [] they put (something). The SANGA-priest libates with the *tapišana*-vessel”. See Singer, *StBoT* 28: 97-98.

³⁴⁶ Singer, *StBoT* 28: 16-17.

³⁴⁷ Singer, *StBoT* 28: 42-43.

³⁴⁸ Singer, *StBoT* 28: 57-58.

E) This description can be compared with KUB 25.1 i 22-26 of the ANTAḪŠUM-festival:

22 na-aš-ta LÚ^{GIS}GIDRU nam-ma-pát pa-ra-a
 23 pa-a-iz-zi na-aš A-NA LÚ^{MES}SANGA šu-up-pa-ja-aš
 24 BE-EL^{URU}Ḫa-at-ti^{MUNUS}AMA.DINGIR-LIM-ja
 25 ŠA É^dḪal-ki pí-ra-an ḫu-u-ua-a-i
 26 [tu?]-[uš¹] a-ša-a-ši

Only the scepter-bearer, then, goes forward.
 (Then) he runs in front of the sacred SANGA-priests,
 the Lord of the city of Ḫatti and the AMA.DINGIR-priestess
 of the temple of the deity Ḫalki,
 and he makes [them sit down].³⁴⁹

F) During the ANTAḪŠUM-festival the king celebrates at the *hešta*-house together with the “sacred SANGA-priest” in IBoT 3.1, 27’-32’:

The king then bows to the deity and seizes the KA.GAG-vessel. He steps down to the hearth. The overseer of the cooks gives *ḫarneššar*. The king throws three times to the hearth. The man of the *hešta*-house keeps giving the sacred SANGA-priest *ḫarneššar*. The SANGA-priest throws three times to the hearth.

We may note here that when he is mentioned the first time, the SANGA-priest is called “sacred”, but then, when he throws to the hearth, the title “sacred” is not used even though this must be the same priest.³⁵⁰ This usage of the title “sacred” (in which the SANGA-priest is mentioned once but then not indicated again), is also seen in the Great Festival of Arinna (KUB 25.9 ii 6’-10’):

6’ LÚ^{GIS}GIDRU pí-ra-an ḫu-u-ua-a-i
 7’ šu-up-pa³⁵¹-ma LÚ^{MES}SANGA a-ša-a-ši
 8’ LÚ¹SANGA^dU LÚ¹SANGA^dLAMMA
 9’ L¹[S]ANGA^dZA.BA₄.BA₄
 10’ LÚ¹SANGA^dLi-el-ua-ni-ja

The scepter-bearer runs ahead, and he makes the sacred SANGA-priests sit. The SANGA-priest of the Storm-god, the SANGA-priest of the

³⁴⁹ See CHD Š: 184^a. Compare this picture with the KILAM-festival (KBo 27.42 ii 49-51); Singer, *StBoT* 28: 58.

³⁵⁰ Compare also with KBo 13.216 obv. i 1’-7’.

³⁵¹ HW² A: 387^b reads: “šuppauš!”

deity LAMMA, the SANGA-priest of the deity ZABABA, and the SANGA-priest of the deity Lelwani.

The “sacred” SANGA-priests are the four priests mentioned: those of the Storm-god, LAMMA, ZABABA, and Lelwani.³⁵²

A parallel text to IBoT 3.1 is KBo 23.79, where the Hittite adjective *šuppi* used for the SANGA-priest is replaced with the Sumerogram KÙ.GA:

Obv. ii

5 -e]š me-ma-i UGULA LÚ^{MES}[MUḪALDIM] ḫar-ni-eš-šar
 LUGAL-i pa-a-i
 6 LÚ^hé-eš-ti-ma A-NA LÚ¹SANGA KÙ.GA pa-a-i
 7]GUNNI-i pé-eš-ši-ja-an-zi LÚ^hḫi-eš-ti-i me-ma-i

8 LÚ¹SA]NGA KÙ.GA-ja É.ŠA-na-za ar-ua-an-zi
 9 -t]i ti-ja-zi UGULA LÚ^{MES}MUḪALDIM LUGAL-i
 10 ḫar-ni-eš-šar]pa-a-i LUGAL-uš túḫ-uḫ-ša UGULA LÚ¹MU
 šu-up-pí-aḫ-ḫi

11 traces.

5 the word]s he recites. The overseer of the cooks gives the king the
ḫarneššar
 6] the man of the *hešta*-house gives to the sacred SANGA-priest.
 7] they throw into the hearth. The man of the *hešta*-house recites.

8 The king?] and the sacred SANGA-priest prostrate in the
 inner chamber
 9] he steps. The overseer of the cooks gives to the king
 10 *ḫarneššar*] he gives. The king breaks (it) off. The chief cook purifies
 (it?).

G) The *nuntarriyašḫa*-festival mentions the “sacred SANGA-priests” in plural (KUB 11.34 v 38-50). It is a common ritual at the temple, in which the king likely drinks the deity³⁵³ dTu-u-ḫ[a-ša-il?], the singers sing with the INANNA lyre, the *palwatalla*-man cries out and the *kita*-man calls out.³⁵⁴

³⁵² Compare a mention of four sacred SANGA-priests in KUB 52.95 iv 5’-6’.

³⁵³ In the Hittite religion drinking from the rhyton shaped in a divine form was called “to drink the god”. See Güterbock (1987) 121-129.

³⁵⁴ Transliteration see Nakamura (2002) 234-235. Compare with IBoT 2.89 ii 2’-5’: [LUGAL-uš] TUŠ-aš^dTu-u-ḫa-ša-il [e-k]u-zi šu-up-pa-uš LÚ^{MES}SANGA []x-an-ši na-aš ar-nu-an-zi ta-aš-ta pa-a-an-zi^{NINDA}zi-ip-pu-la-aš-ni-in da-

[The cupbearer brings] a sour bread from outside (and) gives (it) to the king. The king breaks (it). The cupbearer holds the thick bread to the king and he brings it forth. The sacred SANGA-priests transfer the *zahurti*(pl.). The table-men take the *zippulani*-bread. (The cupbearer³⁵⁵) comes squatting.

The texts show that the “sacred SANGA-priests” receive special treatment from the other priests. They are affiliated with different deities, such as the Tutelary Deity and the Storm-god, and they come from different towns, including Arinna, Zippalanda, and Hattuša, which are the great cult centers.

In the spring festival at Zippalanda, when they open up the temple, the functionaries walk in an order which places the sacred SANGA-priest first. KUB 41.29 obv. iii 12-17³⁵⁶ reads:

They open up the temple. The chief bodyguard
the head of the palace attendants, the sacred SANGA-priest
the *tazzelli*-man the GUDU-priest
the *hamena*-man, the woman and the man of the Storm-god
the *palwatala*-woman, they all
walk forward and bow to the deity.

The SANGA-priest of Zippalanda seems to be only a single figure, as the head of the cult center, and he is titled “sacred” in this text. We may assume that SANGA-priests who are high priests may also be called “sacred SANGA-priests”. But as we have seen above, SANGA-priests can also be in a low-ranking position and still be called “sacred”: KBo 11.46 rev. v 15’ LÚ^{MES} SANGA TUR^{TIM} šu-up-pa-e-eš, that is, “low-ranking sacred SANGA-priests” (4.1.2.2 p. 145).

Regarding the numbers of this type of SANGA-priests, as just indicated, Zippalanda seems to have one, but the Arinna center has several (perhaps three), if restored correctly on KBo 11.38 ii 38-42 (4.1.2.4 p. 149) in comparison with KBo 25.176 rev. 4’ and 8’.³⁵⁷ We have also seen a mention of four SANGA-priests in KUB 25.9 (above 4.1.2.4 pp. 150-151).

an-zi. “[The king] drinks the deity Tuḫšašail. The sacred SANGA-priests [.....]. They transfer. Then they go. They put *zippulašnin*-bread.” Next the *šaramna*-bread they place squatting before the princes, the palace attendants and the bodyguards.

³⁵⁵ See CHD P/2: 190^b.

³⁵⁶ Popko, *THeth* 21: 214-218. A parallel text is IBoT 4.92 = KUB 41.29 iii.

³⁵⁷ Singer, *StBoT* 28: 93-94.

4.1.2.5 LÚ SANGA *kurutayanza*

The meaning of *kurutayan-* (in nom.sg.com. *ku-ru-ta-u-ya-an-za*), which was proposed by van Loon³⁵⁸ to refer to “the horned-helmet shape of headware worn by the deities” on iconographic grounds, was recently confirmed by van den Hout³⁵⁹ on the basis of textual evidence. Statues of deities in the Hittite texts are described as being *kurutayanza* in addition to being *lupanuḫyanza*. These two words, which describe the headware of the male deity, indicate the two kinds of headware seen in the iconography: a cap which is like a head-band, and a conic shaped hat with horns as ornaments. The *lupanni-* has been long recognized as the cap,³⁶⁰ while the *kurutayan-* as horned-helmet was also ascertained by van den Hout.³⁶¹

The interesting aspect of this headware for us is that the SANGA-priests are described as sometimes wearing it during rituals or festivals. There are only three texts which mention the SANGA-priests with this headware: they are KUB 10.1 i 17-21, KUB 18.34 obv. 8-9, and KUB 41.30 iii 2-6.

A) KUB 10.1 belongs to the KILAM-festival, and describes both the SANGA-priest of Arinna and the SANGA-priest of Zippalanda as wearing the horned-helmet headware. The text also adds that they remain standing and do not bow in front of the king (in contrast to other functionaries, who are said to bow to the king). This was noted by van den Hout³⁶² as indicating the special cultic status of these priests; he compared it with the fact that *šuppaeš* SANGA-priests are mentioned throughout the KILAM texts, men who may be the same priests but who merely changed headware. Wearing it, the priest may resemble the deity with which he is affiliated and may, in this context, be deified, expressing a kind of earthly presentation of the deity during the festival. In that status, the SANGA-priest would not be expected to bow to the king. It is worth noting that both priests come from the most important cult centers of the old Hittite religion, Arinna and Zippalanda.

³⁵⁸ Van Loon (1985): 29 n. 119.

³⁵⁹ Van den Hout (1995a) 565-571.

³⁶⁰ CHD L-M: 85^b. Also Puhvel, *HED* 5: 119-121.

³⁶¹ Both van den Hout (1995a) 569, and Puhvel, *HED* 3: 287 show the etymological relations of this Hittite word with the Greek word for helmet. See also CHD Š: 184.

³⁶² Van den Hout (1995a) 567.

B) Two other texts mentioning the *kurutayanza*-priest relate to the cult of the town of Zippalanda. KUB 41.30 iii 2-6³⁶³ counts the *kurutayanza*-priest first: "The SANGA-priest with horned headware (= *kurutayanza*), the *tazzelli*-priest, the *hamena*-man (and) the GUDU-priest. All the temple personnel wash themselves". If we follow the order of the listing, the *kurutayanza*-priest is clearly the high priest of the cult center Zippalanda, which should be compared with our impression regarding the *šuppiš* SANGA-priest of Zippalanda, who was also mentioned above as the head of the cult in that town.³⁶⁴ Finally, the third text (KUB 18.34 obv. 8-9) mentions the *kurutayanza*-priest as follows: *I-NA* ^{URU}Ziplanda ^{LÚ}SANGA *kurutayū[anza]* kuedani pidi šēškiskizzi [] apiedani pidi ^{LÚ}mine?[-a?] ("on which place the SANGA-priest with the horned headware of Zippalanda usually sleeps, on that place the *min[ea?]*-man [will sleep?]").³⁶⁵

According to the iconographical representation of Hittite kings,³⁶⁶ the sovereign may as a priest also wear this headware. The issue will be discussed below under royalty in the priesthood (below 6.1 p. 369 and 6.3 p. 423).

4.1.2.6 ^{LÚ}SANGA GIBIL / ^{LÚ}SANGA LIBIR.RA / ^{LÚ}SANGA ŠU.GI

These three titles are brought together, since they are representing the SANGA-priest at the different stages of his office. The three Sumerograms standing for the titles of the SANGA indicate, respectively, GIBIL "new", LIBIR(.RA) "old" or perhaps, "veteran", and ŠU.GI "elder" or "old". Of the three, the two titles LIBIR.RA and ŠU.GI seem to refer to the same individual, but since both are used in the texts, I will try to ascertain whether there is a difference between them.³⁶⁷

^{LÚ}ŠU.GI appears in the list of festivals of temple functionaries

³⁶³ See 2.6 p. 26. Copy B (KUB 51.37) omits this title here and probably also on line 18'. It may mean that the SANGA-priest can be with headware or without it, and that this ornament is part of his appearance during the rituals.

³⁶⁴ Compare the order of the cult functionaries in another text from Zippalanda, KUB 41.29 Obv. iii 12-17 (4.1.2.4 p. 152 above).

³⁶⁵ Unfortunately, this text looks like a student exercise, since it is written with gaps and no direct connections between the passages.

³⁶⁶ Van den Hout (1995a) 567.

³⁶⁷ For the usage of the Sumerogram ŠU.GI in the Hittite texts, see also Goetze (1938) 29-30.

in the ITP (§4 lines 42-44), next to "the festivals of the sacred SANGA-[priest], the festivals of the old men, the festivals of the AMA.DINGIR-priestesses, the festival of *daḥiya*, the festivals of the *upati*-men, the festivals of the lot".³⁶⁸ I therefore suggest that the festivals of the old men could be understood as the "festivals of the old SANGA-priests" on the basis of the existence of these functionaries in the cultic texts KUB 12.4 iv 2-5 and KUB 10.93 iv 3-6. (In addition, a broken line on ABoT 55 obv. 5' can read ^{LÚ}SANGA ŠU.[GI] in a ritual text where the reverse counts few festivals).

A) KUB 12.4 iv 2-5, a cult inventory text, reads as follows:

Rev. iv

2	ma-a-an A-NA dZA.BA ₄ .BA ₄ ^{LÚ} SANGA ŠU.GI
3	EZEN ₄ zē-e-na-an-da-aš IŠ-TU Ê-ŠU i-ja-zi
4	nu-za kiš-an ḥa-an-da-iz-zi
5	3 UDU 1 PA ŽĪ.DA DUR, 2 PA ŽĪ.DA ḤĀD.DU.A 4 DUG.KA.GAG.A

When the elder SANGA-priest to the deity ZABABA celebrates the fall festival from his house, he shall arrange as follows: three sheep, one *PARISU* of moist flour, two *PARISU* of dry flour, and four vessels of KA.GAG.

From this passage we learn that an "old SANGA-priest" celebrates like any other SANGA-priest to the deity ZABABA. His household pays the cost of the celebration.

B) KUB 10.93 iv 3-14 describes a festival to the Tutelary Deity.³⁶⁹ This text fragment, one from a group of fragments of festivals to the god, dedicates two ^{LÚ}SANGA ŠU.GI to the Tutelary Deity for the celebration of a festival in Ḥattuša during the fall; it should be held at their own house or, as McMahon suggests, at the deity's temple.

C) As may be seen from the texts quoted above, the ^{LÚ}SANGA ŠU.GI is a separate functionary who performs at certain festivals. It should be noted that in addition to the ITP, which treat the priesthood of Ḥattuša, the text on the Tutelary Deity also speaks

³⁶⁸ See 3.9.4.3 p. 117 above.

³⁶⁹ McMahon (1991) 226-227.

of Ḫattuša. Since the ^{LÚ}SANGA LIBIR.RA's few texts (which will be quote here) refer to areas outside Ḫattuša, it may be suggested that these titles are the same, indicating "elder" or "veteran priest" within a certain cult center, temple, or town.

LIBIR.RA stands as the opposite of GIBIL; this can be seen in KUB 17.35 i 17'-37', which describes celebration of the festival of the lot outside Ḫattuša. This is a festival of the installation of a "new SANGA-priest",³⁷⁰ in the ceremony of which the ^{LÚ}SANGA GIBIL and the ^{LÚ}SANGA LIBIR.RA play an important role while the elder priest conducts the inauguration of the newly chosen priest. The two are to be considered as the "elder", "specialist", perhaps also "old in age", versus the "new", "young", "novice". In this sense the titles are adjectives indicating the stage of the priest in his office.

As suggested by KUB 44.21 i 2-3, the ^{LÚ}SANGA.GIBIL may start his work during a certain event, the "festival of purifying the altar". The purification of the altar starts with slaughtering one sheep to the Storm-god and breaking bread in this cult inventory text. Most importantly, the new SANGA-priest clothes himself as a SANGA (i 12), a major stage in entering his priesthood.

New priests must have entered the priesthood constantly. For the questions on how often this festival would have been celebrated and who appointed the priests, see 4.1.8 below pp. 217-225 on the installation of SANGA-priests.

D) DUMU.SANGA / ^{LÚ}DUMU.SANGA

This combination poses a difficulty, having to do with whether the meaning is "a son of a SANGA-priest" or "a junior/apprentice SANGA-priest". The *CHD* (Š: 184) points out the fact that "since there is usually no ^{LÚ} determinative, one suspects that DUMU.SANGA is on the same level as ^{LÚ}SANGA, meaning a young priest or novice; whether this is the same or a different title than ^{LÚ}SANGA.TUR is not clear". The question still stands whether the DUMU is indeed the son of the SANGA-priest, as is also indicated by the *CHD* (Š: 198^a). I must admit that I prefer the translation "son", since as we can see, the SANGA-priest's family is an integral part of the cult, the wife as well as the children (see 4.1.7.5 p. 216 below). I suggest that ^{LÚ}SANGA.GIBIL be taken as a "new priest" and ^{LÚ}SANGA.TUR as the "low-ranking priest",

³⁷⁰ This topic is presented below in detail under the heading on the installation of SANGA-priest (4.1.8 p. 220), where KUB 60.152 will be treated as well.

which in that sense can stand for "the novice priest". I would not distinguish between the DUMU.SANGA and ^{LÚ}DUMU.SANGA, and translate both as "son of a priest".

Texts mentioning the DUMU.SANGA are: KBo 18.69 rev 7; KBo 20.62; KBo 21.47 ii' 5 iii' 12; KBo 25.109 iii 15, 17-18, 22 ii 20; KBo 30.83; KUB 45.47; and HKM 57:10-13.

4.1.3 The deities with whom the SANGA-priests are affiliated (with tabulations)

The aim of the following list is to see which deities in the Hittite pantheon have a "personal" SANGA-priest. This list will point to the range of the pantheon served by the SANGA-priests.³⁷¹

A) Deities Written Phonetically

^{LÚ} SANGA ^d A	KBo 11.46 v 18
^{LÚ} SANGA ^d Anzili	KUB 51.57 obv. [25]; IBoT 1.29 obv. 21
^{LÚ} SANGA ^d Auwa	KUB 45.55 rev. 4
^{LÚ} SANGA ^d Ḫalipinu	KUB 25.36 i 18, [31] v 18,30; 56.44 rev.5; KBo 11.45 iii 10,19
^{LÚ} SANGA ^d Ḫalki	KBo 25.67 r.col. 8; IBoT 1.29 obv. 20
^{LÚ} SANGA ^d Ḫalmaššuitti ^d Ḫalmaššuittaš ^{LÚ} SANGA	IBoT 1.29 obv. 21 KBo 25.33 i 20; KUB 58.54 iv 2
^{LÚ} SANGA ^d Ḫašammili	KBo 17.46 rev. 21+34.2 rev. 45; IBoT 1.29 obv. 22; Bo 2689 ii 25 5 (Klinger, <i>StBoT</i> 37: 172 n. 186)

³⁷¹ The list presented here was made according to the listing of van Gessel, *Onomasticon* vols. 1+2 (1998), *CHD* Š1: 193-4, and Pecchioli Daddi (1982) 359. This list includes SANGA titles that are directly followed by the name of the deity (for example, ^{LÚ}SANGA DN). On the basis of affiliations between deities and priests within the text or through restorations, Pecchioli Daddi (1982) 359 added seven deities to the list.

LÚ SANGA dHulla	KBo 23.106 rev. 14 KUB 52.95 i 7
LÚ SANGA dInar	KBo 10.31 iii 21 KUB 51.54 rev. 5 KUB 56.46 i 30 KUB 59.16 iii 1 VS NF 12.12 i 5
LÚ SANGA dIšhara	KUB 27.130 i 2
LÚ SANGA ŠA dIšhara	KBo 5.2 i 1
LÚ SANGA dKalli	KBo 13.128 ii 4'
LÚ SANGA dKammamma and Hašgala	KUB 55.18 ii 6-7
LÚ SANGA dKampipuitti [LÚ ^{MES} SA]NGA	KUB 34.86 rev. 4 KUB 56.46 i 12 (Pecchioli Daddi [1987a] 41)
LÚ SANGA dKattahha LÚ ^{MES} SANGA dKattahha SANGA.TUR dKattahhi	KUB 20.88 i 17 KUB 51.57 obv.23 KUB 53.4 rev. 4 KBo 25.68 i 2 + XVII 13 rev. 2 (see: Neu, <i>StBoT</i> 25:143 n.473: SANGA DUMU d Kattahhi)
LÚ SANGA dKUSKuršaš	IBoT 3.43 1.col. 7
LÚ SANGA dLelwani	KUB 25.9 ii 10
LÚ SANGA dMali	KUB 57.58 7 ; 57.106 ii 15
dMelku	KUB 12.2 i 20 (Carter, Diss.: 75)
dPentaruḫši	KUB 12.2 i 12' iv 12 (Carter, Diss.: 74)

LÚ SANGA dŠepitta	KBo 30.120 1.col. 4 (Haas [1994] 482) IBoT 1.10 iii 13,17
LÚ SANGA dTašmišu	KUB 51.57 obv. 24 IBoT 1.29 obv. 20 (Arch. <i>SMEA</i> 1 [66] 113)
[LÚ SAN]GA dTatta	KBo 21.86 ii 12'
LÚ SANGA dTazzuwaši	KUB 44.5 r.col. 4[15] KUB 53.13 iii 15 KUB 56.32 iv 6, 14 KUB 58.1 ii 15,19
IR ^{MES} dTelipinu	KUB 42.100 iv 31
LÚ SANGA dTelipinu	KBo 19.138 obv. 9,12,15 KBo 22.197 i 4,8 KBo 23.92 iii 10 KBo 24.98 6,9 KBo 25.155 i 6 KUB 20.88 i 5,6,15 KUB 25.31 obv. 6,12 KUB 53.4 obv. 10,8 obv. 4 16; i 8, 18 ; iii 4, 28 obv. 2, 5, 9 (Haas+Rost ['84] 73)
dTelipinu LÚ SANGA	KUB 53.8 obv. 4 KUB 53.16 i 8 KUB 53.18 iii 4 KUB 20.43, 7, 16
LÚ SANGA dTetešhapi	KBo 19.163 i 21 iv 2 KBo 20.96 15 KBo 21.90 obv. 4,5,93 ii 9, 96,15,98 KBo 21.90 ii 6, 10 iii 2 KBo 21.98 ii 6 KBo 25.48 ii 10 VBoT 32 i 4
LÚ SANGA dTitiutti LÚ SANGA dTitiwatti	KUB 2.3 ii 21 (Singer, <i>StBoT</i> 28: 64) KBo 23.97 i 6, 7 KBo 33.41, 8, 11 KUB 7.19 obv. 3

LÚ SANGA dUattaruaš	Bo 2689 ii 24 (Klinger, <i>StBoT</i> 37: 172 n.186)
dYarri	KUB 12.2 i 22' (Carter, Diss.: 75)
LÚ SANGA dZaḥaluqqa	KBo 11.45 iii 16 KUB 56.44 rev.2 (Košak [1988] 148)
LÚ SANGA dZaḥpuna	KUB 56.54 rev. [21] [24](Košak [1988] 148) KUB 59.32 iii [7] 14 Bo 3315 rev. 6, 12, 15; 1429/u.5 (Haas [1970] 277; 311)
LÚ SANGA dZilipuri	KBo 16.73 2' KBo 23.92 iii 11 KUB 53.18 iii 5
LÚ SANGA Zintuḫi	KUB 52.91 ii 3
LÚ SANGA dAnzili[š dZukki]šš=a	IBoT 1.29 obv. 21
LÚ SANGA dZuluma	KUB 57.95 iii 14 (Ottén [1949] 176f.)
LÚ SANGA dZuwaši	KBo 17.28 4'

B) Deities Written Ideographically

LÚ SANGA DINGIR GE ₆	KBo 15.29 i 1 ; 21.41 obv. 58 118 iii 4 KUB 8.71 e. 17 rev.[4] 78/r.1 (Kronasser [1963] 6)
LÚ SANGA DINGIR ^{LIM} GE ₆	KUB 29.4 iv 42
LÚ SANGA ŠA DINGIR GE ₆	KUB 29.4 i 1
LÚ SANGA dIŠKUR	KBo 19.130 iv 15

	20.113 ii 7, iii 2 22.231 rev. 5 24.68 rev.2, 3 25.87 5 30.93 obv. 10 33.207 iii 16, 21, iv 15 34.158 rev. 4 (<i>OLZ</i> 90 [1995] col. 50) 35.130 l.col. 3; 156 rev. 5; 163 ii 13 38.212 r. col. 16; 38.265 i 13 KBo 39.163 5 KUB 20.88 i 5, 11 25.36 vi 17 IBoT 1.29 obv. 19; 2.121 obv. 17 KBo 38.265 i 13
LÚ SANGA ŠA dIŠKUR	Bo 7287 obv. 10 (KBo 33 p. vii n.1)
dIŠKUR-unnaš LÚ SANGA	KUB 20.43 4
LÚ SANGA dIŠKUR ŠAME	Bo 3649 iii 6 (Haas [1970] 80 n. 4)
LÚ SANGA dIŠKUR manuzija	KBo 23.28 i 40 + KUB 32.65 i 18 KBo 23.28 i 54
LÚ SANGA dIŠKUR ^{URU} Zaḥaluka	KUB 25.36 i 19 [28], v 15, 19, 27, 31
LÚ SANGA dLAMMA	KBo 4.9 ii 13,14, 20, 26, 28, 33 10.23 iv 15, y+3, v 9; 10.24 ii 7 11.46 v 18 24.89.11, 91 i 5 25.180 rev. 5, 7 30.87 obv. 12; 30.153 ii 5 39.91 i 10 11 KUB 10.1 i 25, 10.25.6; 10.90 rev. 9; 10.93 i 4, 8 20.6 5; 20.7 obv. 2; 20.80 iii 14 25.9 ii 8 28.103 vi 6' 38.12 ii 1 44.24 i 9; 44.32 r.col. 12 53.16 i 7 54.39 i 1 58.1 ii 13, 18; 58.2 v 6; 58.15 i 7; 58.26 iii 2; 58.61 i 3 iv 8 IBoT 2.66 obv. 3, 6; 2.91 iii 11; 4.76

		iii 2, 4, 5, 7, 4.336 rev.1.col. 12 Bo 5005 obv. 1 (Singer, <i>StBoT</i> 28:73 n.1)
LÚ SANGA ŠU.GI.ŠA dLAMMA	KUB	10.93 iv 3-4, 9-10
šuppiš LÚ SANGA dLAMMA	KBo	25.180 rev. 5
šuppin LÚ SANGA dLAMMA	KBo	10.23 iv 16, v 8
	KUB	10.1 i 26
LÚ SANGA dLAMMA KUS guršaš	KUB	28.103 vi 6
LÚ SANGA dLAMMA GIS-TIR	KUB	38.12 ii 2
LÚ SANGA dLAMMA URU Hatti	KUB	53.11 i 6, ii 7, 29, iii 20, 24
	KUB	38.12 ii 1
	KUB	12.52 ii 2
[LÚ SANGA? dLAMMA] URU Tauriša	KUB	12.52 i 3,4 (McMahon [1991] 228)
LÚ SANGA dNISABA	KUB	58.60 ii 2
LÚ SANGA dU	KBo	10.24 ii 4 12.65 v 5; 12.116 rev. 2 13.245 rev.11 17.30 iii 12
	KUB	25.9 ii 8, 44 ii 23, 26 54.64 obv. 22 56.39 ii 18 58.60 iv 11
	Bo	1580 rev. 10 (Haas[1970] 304- 5=KUB 54.64)
LÚ SANGA dU šupp[iš]	KBo	10.24 ii 2
LÚ SANGA dU AN ^E	KUB	42.100 iii 19 56.54 rev. [20]
	Bo	3315 rev.11, (Haas [1970] 277)
	Bo	5239 1, 4 (Otten, <i>JCS</i> 4 ['50] 133)
LÚ SANGA dU URU Halpa	KBo	11.46 v 16
LÚ SANGA dU URU [Hišapaša]	KBo	17.83 26
LÚ SANGA d[U URU Karahna?]	KUB	38.12 ii 1
LÚ SANGA dU URU Kaštama	KUB	58.65.9
LÚ SANGA dU URU Manuzi	Bo	7871 i 11
LÚ SANGA dU URU Nerik	KUB	11.24 5 56.54 rev. 18 59.32 iii 7

		1429/u.3, 4 (Haas [1994] 410 n. 259, 563)
LÚ SANGA dU URU Taparišija	KUB	38.10 iii 10
LÚ SANGA dU URU Zaḫaluka	KUB	53.13 iii 16
LÚ SANGA ŠA dU zaḫaluqa	KUB	27.68 i 6
LÚ SANGA dUTU	KBo	25.68 i 8
	KUB	53.3 vi 19 58.60 vi 11
ŠA? dUTU LÚ SANGA	KUB	30.10 obv. 27
dUTU-aš LÚ SANGA-in	KUB	59.10 vi 1
LÚ SANGA ŠA dUTU URU Arina	KUB	6.46 iii 57-8 57.63 i 1, iii 21-2
LÚ SANGA ŠA dUTU URU PÚ-na		6.45 iii 18
ŠA dUTU URU Arina LÚ SANGA	KUB	41.29 iii 4-5
LÚ SANGA dIMIN.IMIN	KBo	21.86 ii 7,10,14,17 30.120 l.col. 5
LÚ SANGA dIMIN.IMIN.BI	KUB	20.45 iv 17, 18; 20.88 i 14
	IBoT	1.10 iii 5, 9
LÚ SANGA dIŠTAR	KBo	6.29 i 18 23.92 iii 11 34.173.7, 8
LÚ SANGA dZABABA	KUB	25.9 ii 9, 25.31 obv. 13 51.57 obv. 24 53.13 iii 17
	IBoT	1.29 obv. 20

C) Following is a list of the deities, with an attempt to identify their origin. The phonetic spelling of the names was chosen, taking into consideration the difficulty of identifying the name of the deity corresponding to the ideogram.

^d A (Ea)	Mesopotamian-Hurrian ³⁷²
^d Anzili (and Zukki)	Hattian origin with Luwian elements
^d Auwa	Appears in a Hurrian text with Teššub
^d Halipinu	Hattian
^d Halki	Hattian
^d Halmaššuitti	Hattian origin
^d Hašammili	Hattian origin
^d Hulla	Hattian
^d Inar	Hattian
^d Išhara	Mesopotamian-Hurrian
^d Kampipuitti	Hattian
^d Kattaḥḥa/ ^d Kattaḥḥi	Hattian
^d KUR ⁵ Kuršaš	
^d Lelwani	Hittite with Luwian origin(?)
^d Maliḫa	Hurrian
^d Sepitta	
^d Tašmišu	Hurrian
^d Tazzuwaši	Hattian
^d Telipinu	Hattian
^d Tetešḥapi	Hattian
^d Titiutti	Hattian
^d Titiwatti	Hattian
^d Uattaruāš	
^d Zaḥaluqqa	Hattian
^d Zaḥpuna	Hattian
^d Zilipuri	Hattian with Luwian influence
^d Zintuḫi	Hattian
^d Zuluma	

D) Conclusions

1. The status of a SANGA-priest is partly suggested by his affiliation with a deity. But it has to be noted that even when the priest appears with the title of a certain deity, the ritual itself can include the names of different deities being worshiped. This suggests that the priest himself, even though he is related to a certain deity, functions as a priest to all the gods worshiped in his temple. A comparable situation is evident in relation to the Hittite king, who declares himself as a priest of a certain deity, but then says that he is a priest to all the gods (see 6.1.2 below p. 370). This may, on

³⁷² See Archi (2002) 2.

the other hand, suggest a certain status within the hierarchy of the priests in a given town or temple. The priest affiliated with a specific deity must belong to the temple of that deity in the town. There were differences between the sizes of temples in the towns, and the status of the priest may very well have been influenced by the size of his temple. For example, the Karaḥna inventory text (KUB 38.12 col. ii 12-20) mentions the Storm-god of Heaven (and) the Sun-goddess of Arinna, as well as two new temples which are built for them. The personnel for the temple are indicated as follows, though here the SANGA-priest is not affiliated with one of the deities: "The *ḫilammatta*-men for him (were) selected: six *ḫilam*[*matta*-men and also] a SANGA-priest, an exorcist, a scribe, a singer, a baker [. "

The hierarchy of the priests must of course have been influenced by the divine hierarchy: the most prominent deities would have the larger temples with the richer cult, and therefore the priest, too, would enjoy a more prestigious status.

The majority of the deities with which the SANGA-priests were affiliated are of Hattian-Hittite origin. It means that the majority of the SANGA-priests belonged to the main tradition of the Hittite religion, which was of Hattian origin. This is what one would expect to find, since Hurrian and Mesopotamian cults were later intrusions.

The list basically represents the state cult. That sends us back to our archival sources, which are clearly state cult archives. But the fact that the majority of the deities mentioned are of Hattian origin points to the strong ties the Hittite religion had with that religious tradition. Even when we see a strong Hurrian influence on the cult of the New Kingdom, the Hattian tradition seems to maintain a stronghold in the tradition. This is evident from the fact that the texts show a wide historical range, spanning from old Hittite times to the New kingdom period.

2. The deity list given above reflects the hierarchy of the deities among the Hittites. The most popular gods on the list are:

^dLAMMA (43 times), ^dU (27 times), ^dIŠKUR (23 times).

Next in number come:

^dTelipinu (11 times) and ^dKattaḥḥa, ^dInar, ^dTazzuwaši, ^dTetešḥapi (4 times each).

Contrary to expectations, we do not find among these deities the Storm-god of Hatti or the Sun-goddess of Arinna, who represent

the top hierarchy of the Hittite pantheon as evident from the deities' lists in the international treaties.³⁷³ It is also surprising that ^dLAMMA is first on the list and not the more expected one, ^dU/^dIŠKUR. If we take ^dU and ^dIŠKUR as representing the STORM-god in general, however, then the Storm-gods and the ^dLAMMA have almost the same amount of references in the texts.

This may be compared with the evidence of the Karaḥna inventory text, where the main deity under consideration is the ^dLAMMA, the Tutelary Deity of Karaḥna. The list of the priests is described as follows: KUB 38.12 ii 1-5³⁷⁴

- 1 One SANGA-priest of the Tutelary Deity of Karaḥna, one SANGA-priest of the [Storm-]god [of the town Karaḥna]
- 2 One SANGA-priest of the Tutelary Deity of the forest, one AMA.DINGIR-priestess, fifteen women [
- 3 Total: nineteen *ḥazziwitaši*-people³⁷⁵
- 4 They are not [included] in the counting of the *ḫilammatta*-men. [?]
- 5 Two temples of the Tutelary Deity of the town Karaḥna (and) of the Storm-god of Karaḥna.

Next to the SANGA-priest of ^dLAMMA stands a SANGA-priest of the Storm-god and another of the Tutelary Deity of the forest. But the two main deities are ^dLAMMA and ^dU, as appears on our list. On the basis of its script, the text KUB 38.12, an inventory text of Karaḥna, is of a late period. I believe, however, that it preserves an older tradition of the town, which points to the Ḫattian roots of these two deities.

3. The appearance of the ^dLAMMA raises a question in regard to those priests who hold the deity title. The SANGA-priest of ^dLAMMA officiates in the following festival texts: the ANTAḤŠUM-festival (such as in KBo 4.9, 11.46); the KI.LAM-festival (such as in KBo 10.23, 10.24, and 25.180; and KUB 10.1); the festival for the crown prince (such as in KUB 20.7, 20.80); the

³⁷³ Kestemont (1976) 147-148. Kestemont determines that there was a core list of deities, divided into three major groups. The first group is headed by the Sun-goddess of Arinna together with the Storm-god of Ḫatti. In our case, the absence of these deities from the list presented in this chapter can be explained by the fact that the Hittite king and queen are regarded as their priests.

³⁷⁴ Jakob-Rost (1961) 200f.

³⁷⁵ ^{LÚ}*ḥazziwitaši*- "men of the cult/cult entertainment?" see Puhvel, *HED* 3:283.

festival for the NIN.DINGIR (KUB 58.61); the festival of the Tutelary Deity (KUB 10.93, 44.24, and 53.11).

The SANGA-priest of ^dLAMMA appears in different large state festivals, making him a part of the main priesthood of the state cult. This concords with the description given by McMahon regarding the deity ^dLAMMA in the Hittite cult.³⁷⁶

Is the SANGA-priest of ^dLAMMA a single priest, traveling from Ḫattuša to other places in the kingdom? It was probably not an exclusive position. According to the ritual prescription we find in KUB 10.93³⁷⁷ iv 3-14, two ^{LÚ}SANGA ŠU.GI ŠA ^dLAMMA who celebrate, each in turn, a festival for the ^dLAMMA at his temple. Both old/elder priests celebrate the festival in the capital Ḫattuša in the autumn. In the first column of this text, a SANGA-priest of the Tutelary Deity performs a ritual of drinking three deities and then a cultic meal takes place, after which the SANGA-priest again drinks and breaks bread. He is not identified as young or old. His activity seems to be similar to the king's during rituals. He must be considered a high priest though he does not receive this title.³⁷⁸

Another occasion where we meet two priests of the Tutelary Deity is the KI.LAM-festival, where we hear that: "At the portico of the gods the SANGA-priest of the Tutelary Deity lets the sacred SANGA-priest of the Tutelary Deity go in front" (KBo 10.23+11.67 iv 15).³⁷⁹

One may of course include the SANGA-priests of the ^dLAMMA identified with a certain town: ^{LÚ}SANGA ^dLAMMA ^{URU}Ḫatti (KUB 53.11), ^{URU}Karaḥna (KUB 38.12), or ^{URU}Tauriša (KUB 12.52). The same is to be applied to the numerous SANGA-priests of the Storm-gods and these deities' towns of origin: ^{URU}Halpa, ^{URU}Karaḥna, ^{URU}Kaštama, ^{URU}Manuzi, ^{URU}Nerik, ^{URU}Taparišiya, and ^{URU}Zaḫḫaluqqa.

4.1.4 Names of SANGA-priests

The SANGA-priests rarely appear with their private names in the texts. The reason for this is that the majority of the texts are prescriptive rituals and festivals. Only in some inventory texts, or

³⁷⁶ McMahon (1991) 29-33.

³⁷⁷ Treated by McMahon (1991) 223-227.

³⁷⁸ The reading of col. i 4' is restored by McMahon, *ibid*: 224, but on the basis of the continuation it seems quite certain.

³⁷⁹ 4.1.2.4 p. 149 above.

some other non-ritual texts, might we encounter the private name of a priest. The texts which provide us with names are: the inventory texts KUB 12.2³⁸⁰, KUB 38.37³⁸¹, KUB 42.100³⁸²; and the texts KUB 8.71, KUB 30.64, KBo 12.116 which are catalog tablets indicating famous SANGA-priests who wrote down rituals.³⁸³ At first, following Laroche, I attempted to see whether it was possible to determine the ethnic origin of each of the priests' names; but since the names may have been blended among the different ethnic groups within Anatolia during the periods in question, I have noted in the list below the possible origin of the name, or the area to which the name belongs as indicated by Laroche.

Name	Text	Origin (?)
^m Ammiḫatna	KBo 5.2 i 1; KUB 7.52 obv. 1	Kizzuwatna ³⁸⁴
^m Ḫalpa-LÚ-iš	KUB 60.129, 7 ³⁸⁵	
^m Ḫešni	KUB 38.37 iii 5'	Hurrian ³⁸⁶
^m Ḫullu	KUB 12.2 i 18'	Cappadocia ³⁸⁷
^m Ḫarwa-ziti	KUB 12.2 i 22'	Luwian ³⁸⁸
^m Ḫutarli	KUB 38.37 iii 8'	Cappadocia ³⁸⁹
^m Ḫudrāla	KUB 12.2 iv 10 12	Cappadocia ³⁸⁹
^m Gallili	KUB 42.100 iv 30'	Hittite? ³⁹⁰
^m Ilīm(a)bi	KBo 12.116 rev. 2'; KUB 8.71 obv. 10'; KUB 56.55 iv 3' ³⁹²	Kizzuwatna ³⁹¹
^m Lupakki	KUB 42.100 iii 39'	
^m Marašanda	KUB 12.2 i 10' 12'	Hittite

³⁸⁰ Carter (1962) 74f.

³⁸¹ Werner, *StBoT* 4: 56-57.

³⁸² Hazenbos (2003) 14-24.

³⁸³ For these texts see Laroche, *CTH*, pp. 187-188.

³⁸⁴ Laroche, *NH* p. 29.

³⁸⁵ *CHD* Š: 198^b. See also van den Hout, *StBoT* 38: 187, for a possible priest with this name in few other texts.

³⁸⁶ Laroche, *NH* p. 351. However, it seems that he is part of the cult in Ḫattuša; see Werner, *StBoT* 4: 56-57. See also van den Hout, *StBoT* 38: 206.

³⁸⁷ Laroche, *NH* p. 324.

³⁸⁸ Laroche, *NH* p. 73. However, it seems that he is part of the cult in Ḫattuša; see Werner, *StBoT* 4: 56-57.

³⁸⁹ Laroche, *NH* p. 73.

³⁹⁰ The name may be Kalli-ili "man of the deity Kalli" (of the circle of Ea).

³⁹¹ For this text see Laroche, *CTH*, p. 187, and for the name Ilīmabi see Laroche, *NH* p. 78. Klengel (1985) 170-171 with n. 15 indicates that this name is of Babylonian origin, together with the name of the *katra*-priestess.

³⁹² See below pp. 174-175 for these texts.

^m Muttanani	KUB 12.2 i 20'	Hittite-Luwian ³⁹³
^m Nunzidi	KUB 43.33 obv. 1	Luwian
^m Pallanna	KUB 12.2 iv 1	Hittite-Luwian ³⁹⁴
^m Pallatati	KUB 12.2 iv 22	Luwian
^m Pentipšarri	KBo 3.6 ii 60, vi 29	Lawazantiya (father of Puduḫepa)
^m Tattiya	KUB 12.2 i 2	Luwian
^m Telipinu	KUB 11.8 v 15' 19.25 i 3, 8	Hittite (king of Aleppo)
^m Duddu(wa)lli	KUB 12.2 i 14' 16' iv 20	Cappadocia
^m Duddu	KuT 31 rev. 9 ³⁹⁵	
^m Ulippi	KBo 15.29 i 1; KUB 8.71 rev. 4; 30.64 rev. 2'	Kizzuwatna ³⁹⁶
^m Walkui	KUB 8.71	Kizzuwatna
^m Wanni	KUB 12.2 i 24'	Luwian/may be Hurrian
^m Wazzi	KUB 48.48 rev. 6'	Hurrian ³⁹⁷
^m ŪG.BA- ^d U	KUB 8.71 rev. 2; 30.64 rev. 2'	Kizzuwatna
^m Arma-piya = ^{md} SIN-SUM	KUB 12.2 i 8'	Hittite-Luwian ³⁹⁸
^m Tarḫunta-piya = ^{md} U-ta-SUM	KUB 12.2 iv 8, 14, 18	Hittite-Luwian ³⁹⁹
^m Tiwata-ziti = ^{md} UTU-LÚ	KUB 42.100 iii 10'	Luwian ⁴⁰⁰
^m NU.[^{GIS} KIRI]	IBoT 1.10 iii 5'	

The two men ^mZuwa (Hittite/Luwian origin⁴⁰¹) and ^mWarwašazi also appear in KUB 38.37 like ^mḪutarli and ^mḪešni, but they are not identified as SANGA-priests, though they testify about possessing gods' images at home and worshiping them. I assume that they are also SANGA-priests, or at least family members of the priest.

The names on the list are found in texts from the Middle and New Kingdom periods, and show a diversity of ethnic origins for the names of the priests officiating in different cults.

³⁹³ Laroche, *NH* p. 326.

³⁹⁴ Laroche, *NH* p. 330.

³⁹⁵ The text from Kuşaklı was treated by Hazenbos (2003) 144-165.

³⁹⁶ See Laroche, *CTH*, pp. 187-188. See also Kronasser (1963) 6.

³⁹⁷ Laroche, *NH* p. 333.

³⁹⁸ Laroche, *NH* p. 290.

³⁹⁹ Laroche, *NH* p. 318. See also van den Hout, *StBoT* 38: 211.

⁴⁰⁰ Laroche, *NH* p. 290.

⁴⁰¹ Laroche, *NH* pp. 328, 338.

We may, for example, look at KUB 12.2, and see how the diversity of names at the same cult center may reflect a mixture of Luwian, Hurrian, and Hittite origins of the priests' names. The priests officiating in a certain cult center cannot be identified with a certain ethnic origin; rather, they are already a mixture of families who have acted on behalf of the king for centuries, and who have probably been transferred from place to place. This text, KUB 12.2, will be dealt with in detail later, as it concerns the affiliation of the priests with specific temples and deities, and whether they spent the whole year at the same temple (see below 4.1.8 p. 221).

KUB 42.100, on the other hand, is a cult inventory from the town of Nerik at the time of Tudḫaliya IV.⁴⁰² The names of the priests here are Hittite-Luwian names, and not Ḫattian names as we would have expected to see in Nerik, the ancient Ḫattian cult center. However, we know from the accounts of Ḫattušili III, the father of Tudḫaliya IV, that he had transferred people to this area; this may be the reason for the mixed origin of the names of the priests.⁴⁰³

The catalogue texts (mainly KUB 8.71) show that the rituals were written by priests from Kizzuwatna and may have been kept in Ḫattuša, probably as part of the greater Hurrian-Kizzuwatna influence on the cult of the capital during the New Kingdom.⁴⁰⁴

4.1.5 Towns with which the SANGA-priests are affiliated⁴⁰⁵

URU Arinna	KBo 9.91 rev. B 1; 10.26 i 36; 10.28 v 5; 11.36 col. 14; 25.176 rev. 7'; KUB 10.1 i 17'; 10.52 i 5'; 44.60.ii 8'
URU Atal(a)ḫaziya	KUB 53.4 rev. 32'
URU Aštata	KUB 5.6 i 40
URU Ḫakmiš	KBo 6.29 i 25; KUB 1.6 iii 7
URU Ḫaršalaša	KBo 2.1 ii 32-39
URU Ḫašinuwa	KBo 14.21 ii 20'-22'
URU Ḫat[ti/tuša]	KUB 28.94 i 6' 10'
URU Ḫattuša	KUB 10.93 iv 5; 44.60 ii 9'
URU Ḫurla	KUB 19.28: 7
URU Iptalaim	KUB 3.87: 14'

⁴⁰² Hazenbos (2003) 16-24.

⁴⁰³ In the text "The Apology of Ḫattušili III", he repeatedly testifies that he resettled the areas he conquered from Kaška, according to van den Hout's translation of the text in *CoS* 1: 199ff: §6 §8.

⁴⁰⁴ See below 4.1.6.1 p. 174.

⁴⁰⁵ The list of towns is based on Pecchioli Daddi (1982) 357-358, and *RGTC* 6/1 (1978) 585, as well as *CHD* Š1: 193^a.

URU Ištami[KBo 25.68 i 8'; KUB 43.33 obv. 1
URU Ištan[uwa	KBo 25.68+17.13 i 8'; KUB 25.39 i 23
URU Karaḫna	KUB 38.12 i 1-18.
URU Katapa	HT 2 i 1-27
URU Kartapaḫa	HT 2 ii 20
URU Kašḫa	KUB 9.3 iv 9[13[; KUB 53.4 rev. 5' 17' 25'; KUB 53.3 v 1 ⁴⁰⁶
URU Kaštama	KBo 21.79 iv 10'; KUB 56.35 i 6 // KUB 20.80 iii' 6' 14'
URU Kiliššara	KBo 10.31 ii 10'
URU Kizzuwatna	KBo 5.2 i 2; KUB 19.25 i 5
URU Kuršamaša	KUB 17.35 ii 35'-iii 22'
URU Lapana	KUB 38.1 iv 1-7
URU Lawazantiya	KBo 3.6 ii 60
URU Maliyaša	KBo 2.1 iii 26-33
URU Nerik	KUB 1.6 iii 7; 44.60 ii 11'; KUB 19.55 rev. 6
URU Parminaša	KUB 38.27 rev. 7'
URU Paršananhila	HT 2 iii 11=KBo 2.31 obv. 14'
URU Pirwaššuwa	KUB 38.1 iv 17'
URU Šalunataši	KUB 17.35 iv 3-18
URU Šamuḫa	KUB 32.133 rev. iv 2'
URU Šapagurwanta	KUB 38.6 iv 7'
URU Šarwalaši	KBo 2.1 iii 1-6
URU Talwi[KUB 19.55 rev. 6'
URU Taparišiya	KUB 38.10 iii 9'-20'
URU Taparuta	KUB 38.10 iii 9'-20'
URU Tammeka	KUB 38.1 i 1', 4'
URU Tarmaliya	KUB 12.2 iv 10-11
URU Tawiniya	KUB 11.32+ iii 5-28
URU Tiliura	KUB 38.3 i 1-8
URU Urišta	HKM 57:11
URU Watniya	KBo 13.173 3'
URU Watarwa	KBo 2.1 ii 21-31
URU Zahalukka	KUB 54.64 obv. 19
URU Zippalanda	KBo 10.20 iv 14'; 10.26 i 38; 10.28 v 9; 21.52 i 6'; 25.176 rev. 12'; KUB 10.1 i 18'; 10.52 i 6'; 44.60 ii 10'

The affiliation of the priest with a town usually appears as ^{LU}SANGA URU+name of town. In a few inventory texts, however, we learn of the institution of a SANGA-priest to a certain deity who gained a new statue and/or a new temple in a certain town. We can assume in this case that the SANGA-priest is affiliated with the town. The towns mentioned include: ^{URU}Lapana (KUB 38.1 iv 1); ^{URU}Pirwaššuwa (KUB 38.1 iv 17'); ^{URU}Tammeka (KUB 38.1 i 1',

⁴⁰⁶ Otten and Rüster (1978) 274.

4'); ^{URU}Tiliura (KUB 38.3 i 1); ^{URU}Parminaš[(KUB 38.27 rev. 7'). In these texts we may also find descriptions of a deity from one town being worshiped by a SANGA-priest in another town. For example, the Storm-god of Liḫzina in Tiliura (KUB 38.3 i 1-8) had previously a priest, who should therefore belong to the town of Tiliura. KBo 2.1, which mentions Storm-gods of several towns, was inserted in the list in order to indicate priests from these towns, though the list itself probably counts priests in one area.⁴⁰⁷

What do we learn from the names of the towns with respect to the distribution of the SANGA-priests over the kingdom? The list is too short to draw any sound conclusions. SANGA-priests appear in so many texts that each mentions different places. But direct affiliation or identification of the SANGA-priest with a specific town is rare. The reasons may be:

- 1) Texts prepared for use in a certain town do not necessarily indicate that the priests belong to that town, and they are identified by the name of the deity they serve.
- 2) Only when the officiating SANGA-priests come from a different town to celebrate, for example at Ḫattuša during the KILAM-festival, is it necessary to identify their town of origin, such as Arinna or Zippalanda.

The towns may be divided into the following areas of the kingdom: Arinna, Nerik, Zippalanda, Ḫattuša, Ḫakmiš, Kaštama, and Kartapaḫa. All belong to the ancient towns of the old Hittian tradition, and Arinna and Zippalanda are mentioned far more often than any other town. On the other hand, we find the North Syrian town Aštata⁴⁰⁸ along with Kizzuwatna,⁴⁰⁹ and also Lawazzantiya in the area of Cilicia, all parts of the Hittite kingdom. Ištanuwa's location is not known, but the people of Ištanuwa appear in rituals of Luwian origin.⁴¹⁰ The town Ištami belongs to the northern part of the kingdom in the region of Mount Takura.⁴¹¹ The town Paršananhila is in the area of Katapa, Kartapaḫa, Taḫurpa, and Ankuwa, which is also the main Hittite realm in the vicinity of

⁴⁰⁷ See the mention of the deity Aššur on obv. 10'-11', pointing to the place where the statues of these storm gods are worshiped. Carter (1962) 33 and *RGTC* 6/1: 51-52.

⁴⁰⁸ *RGTC* 6/1: 48.

⁴⁰⁹ *RGTC* 6/1: 213f. *RGTC* 6/2: 81.

⁴¹⁰ *RGTC* 6/1: 152.

⁴¹¹ *RGTC* 6/1: 387-388. The mountain is related to Ḫanḫana in the northern part of the kingdom (*RGTC* 6/1: 77).

Arinna and Zippalanda.⁴¹²

Thus, we see the dominant role of the SANGA-priesthood within the Hittite heartland. It is also represented, however, in the priesthood of the Cilician area of Kizzuwatna.⁴¹³

4.1.6 The activities of the SANGA-priest in the cult

In the following section we will try to present the major activities and duties of the SANGA-priest as they arise from the texts.

4.1.6.1 Authors of ritual texts

I have chosen to begin with the description of the SANGA-priest as an author of rituals, since I believe it sets him in a high position with respect to the cult. He knows all of the cult's activities, all the special festival celebrations, and all regular and special rituals. He is therefore probably at the head of the cult in his area or temple.

This authorial function of the SANGA-priest is an aspect of the general Hittite tradition of writing down their religious activity, which can be seen in the "catalog tablets" published by Laroche, *CTH*: 153-193. It must be emphasized, however, that the SANGA-priest is not the only cult functionary described as an author of religious texts; religious figures dealing with rituals of SISKUR, such as the ^{MUNUS}SU.GI, and a ^{LÚ}ḪAL ^{URU}Ḫalpa (KUB 30.56 iii 10'f), are mentioned as authors of texts as well.

Here we should raise the question of whether the SANGA-priest is a composer of rituals or whether he only transmits rituals he has already learned through his work. The answer is not clear, since there are no texts speaking directly of such priestly duties. I cannot even say for sure that the priests wrote or read texts by themselves. The text presented below under 4.1.6.1 (p. 175) may indicate that the SANGA-priest is assisted by a scribe in writing down the text. Another text I can mention in this regard is KUB 32.133 (below p. 177), where the priests called ^{LÚ}MES ^Ē.DINGIR^{LIM} ("Temple-Men") join together with scribes to write down the rituals for the cult of a certain deity. This points to their need for professional scribes in order to write down such material, but on the other hand they preserve the cult ordinations, which probably means that they had the power to prescribe and introduce changes within certain

⁴¹² *RGTC* 6/1: 307; 199.

⁴¹³ On this, see more below (4.1.6.1 pp. 176-177) regarding the SANGA-priests as authors of rituals.

cults. Yet the text in question also clearly shows that the king did not like these changes.

Following are the attestations of the SANGA-priest as a composer or transmitter of such rituals:

A) KUB 30.51+ Line 7:

1 TUP-PU INIM / (dupl. AWAT) ^{LÚ}SANGA ma-a-an DIN[(GIR^{MEŠ})⁴¹⁴]

B) KUB 30.50+ Lines 5-7:

1 TUP-PU QA-TI A-NA ^d[^{URU}Kum-ma-an-ni;
ma-aḥ-ḥa-an] A-WA-AT ^mAm-mi-ḥa-at-n[^a⁴¹⁵ ^{LÚ}SANGA?⁴¹⁶

C) KUB 30.56 iii 7'-9':

INIM ^mKán-tu-uz-zi-[li GAL ^{LÚ}^M^{ES}SANGA DUMU.LUGAL ma-a-an x[]
la-ḥu-ḡa-a-an-zi te-pu [] x-ḡa-tar ḡal-zi-ša-an-zi[?] A-NA
É.DINGIR^{LIM}-ja-aš-ši GI[M-an GI]R²-aš GAM-an ti-an-zi SISKUR[?]

The word/account of Kantuzzi[li, the overseer of] the SANGA-priests, the prince, when [] they pour. A little [].... they keep calling[] and to (his/her) temple wh[en at his fe]et? they take a stand(?), the (following) SISKUR (they perform).⁴¹⁷

D) KUB 8.71:

This tablet contains a listing of several tablets which refer to SANGA-priests whose "word/ account" is recorded.

a) Lines 10'-15' count the eighth tablet of a series, of which two other colophons are known now as KBo 12.116 and KUB 56.55:⁴¹⁸

DUB.8. KAM QA-TI INIM ^mI-li-ma-a-[(bi ^{LÚ}SANGA ^dU⁴¹⁹ ^U⁴²⁰ IN)]IM⁴²¹
^fAr-ša-ki-ti⁴²² ^{MUNUS}kat-ra-aš [(ma-a-an ^d)? ud-da-na-az⁴²³ (ku-e-e)]z-qa
TUKU.TUKU⁴²⁴-u-an-za na-aš-ma-a[(š-ši mar-ša-aš-tar-ri-iš-ma ku-i)]š-ki

⁴¹⁴ Laroche, CTH, p. 157.

⁴¹⁵ Laroche, CTH, p. 166.

⁴¹⁶ To be compared with KBo 5.2 i 1.

⁴¹⁷ Laroche, CTH, p. 181.

⁴¹⁸ KBo 12.116 is the colophon of the third tablet of the same composition, while the colophon of tablet KUB 56.55 is the fifth tablet of this same composition. The colophon is restored on the basis of both texts.

⁴¹⁹ Klengel (1985) 171 suggests here ^dU.GUR-Nergal.

⁴²⁰ Added in KUB 56.55.

⁴²¹ Missing on KUB 56.55.

⁴²² KUB 56.55 ^{MUNUS}Ar-za-ki-ti.

⁴²³ According to KUB 56.55.

⁴²⁴ KUB 56.55 - kar-tim-mi-ja-[...].

pí-ra-an DÙ-an-za⁴²⁵ na-aš[(-ma-aš-ši-kán U-NU-UT-TIM (ku-i)]t-ki ḡar-
kán⁴²⁶ na-an SAG.G[(ÉME.ARAD^{MEŠ} ma-aḥ-ḡa-an EGIR-pa)] mu-ga-iz-
zi⁴²⁷[(^U-UL QA-TI)]

The eighth tablet (is) finished. The account of Ilimabi the SANGA-priest of the Storm-god, and the account of the woman Aršakiti, the *katra*-priestess: 'When the deity is angered by some matter, either someone had done before him/her a sacrilege, or some implements of his/her (were) lost, when the servants invoke him/her again. Not [finished].⁴²⁸

b) Lines 16'-18':

[DUB-X-KA]M ^U-UL QA-TI INIM ^mŊIG.BA[-^dU ^{LÚ}DUB.SAR(?)] [^U
^mŊ-Ŋ]i[-ib-bi ^{LÚ}SANGA DINGIR.GE₆ [mān-za DINGIR GE₆ (ku-iš ḡa-an-ti-i)]
a-ša-a-ši

"[Tablet no. x] not finished. The word/account of ^mŊIG.BA[-^dU the scribe, and ^mŊ-Ŋ]i[-ib-bi the SANGA-priest of the Deity of the Night. [When] someone settles apart [the deity....]"

The colophon must refer to the text KUB 29.4 telling of the "transfer" of the Deity of the Night, since the lines of the colophon (iv 42-46) are similar:

DUB.1.KAMA-WA-AT ^{LÚ}SANGA DINGIR^{LIM} GE₆ ma-a-an-za DINGIR GE₆
ku-iš ḡa-an-ti-i a-ša-a-ši nu-uš-ši ki-i SISKUR.SISKUR-ŠŪ
^U-UL QA-TI

Tablet no. 1: The account of the SANGA-priest of the Deity of the Night. 'When someone installs elsewhere the Deity of the Night. This is his SISKUR ritual'; Not finished.

The beginning of this text has a duplicate KBo 16.85+ KBo 15.29 i 1.⁴²⁹ The text reads:

[UM-MA ^mŊIG.BA[-^dU ^{LÚ}DUB.SA]R (?) ^{URU}KÁ.DINGIR.RA ^U ^mU-li-ip-pí
^{LÚ}SANGA DINGIR GE₆

"[Thus says ^mŊIG.BA[-^dU] the Babylonian [scrib]e? and Ulippi, priest of the Deity (of the Night)".

(To this colophon compare also the restored colophon according to KUB 30.64 rev. 1'-4'⁴³⁰).

⁴²⁵ KUB 56.55 *i-en-za*.

⁴²⁶ KUB 56.55 *ḡar-kán->an<*.

⁴²⁷ KUB 56.55 - *mu-ga-a-iz-zi*.

⁴²⁸ The text KUB 56.55 was edited by Klengel (1985) 169-171.

⁴²⁹ See Collins, *CoS* 1: 173 n. 4.

⁴³⁰ Laroche, CTH, p. 191.

c) Lines 21'-23' record DUB.1.KAM QA-TI INIM mÚ-li-ib-bi, but the ^{LÚ}SANGA DINGIR.GE₆ is restored.

d) Lines 24'-29' record DUB.1.KAM QA-TI INIM mWa-al-ku-i, where again the ^{LÚ}SANGA is restored, with the next line having DINGIR.GE₆.

All these tablets belong to the cult of the Deity of the Night, and the SANGA-priest of this deity is the one who insures exact performance of the ritual process.

E) Two texts which show a complete composition by a SANGA-priest are KUB 29.4 and KBo 5.2. The first of these texts begins as follows:⁴³¹

1 UM-MA ^{LÚ}SANGA ŠA DINGIR GE₆
Thus says the SANGA-priest of the Deity of the Night.⁴³²

The UM-MA which introduces the words of the SANGA-priest's speech ends with the indication A-WA-AT ^{LÚ}SANGA DINGIR^{LIM} GE₆: "The account of the SANGA-priest of the Deity of the Night". This formula is repeated in KBo 5.2 i 1-2, which reads UM-MA mAm-mi-ḫa-at-na ^{LÚ}SANGA dIš-ḫa-ra LÚ^{URU}Ki-iz-zu-ua-at-na: "Thus (said) Ammiḫatna the SANGA-priest of the deity Išḫara the man of the town Kizzuwatna". In both cases the content of the account is the procedure of the ritual dictated in detail. The colophon of KBo 5.2 iv 63-66 reads:

DUB 1 KAM QA-TI A-WA-AT mAm-mi-ḫa-at-na ma-a-an UKÙ-aš šu-up-iš nu-uš-ši mar-ša ku-iš-ki ku-it-ki pa-a-i nu ki-i SISKUR.SISKUR ši-pa-an-da-aḫ-Iḫi¹ -

One tablet finished. The account/word of Ammiḫatna: when somebody gives a sacred man something impure, this SISKUR I offer.

So far, the kind of text dictated by the SANGA-priest can be seen only in material originating in Kizzuwatna. All these texts clearly deal with the idea of impurity and how to avoid it or be cleansed of it; their subject is the methods and actual instructions of what must be performed, and how, in order to attain purity. These texts treat a person who is named EN SISKUR ("the offerant") for a

⁴³¹ The translation is that of Collins, CoS 1: 173.

⁴³² Collins, *ibid*, inserts here the variant of KBo 16.85+KBo 15/29 i 1: "[Thus says mNIG.BA-dU] the Babylonian [scrib](e?) and Ulippi, the SANGA-priest of the Deity of the Night."

matter of impurity.

In KBo 5.2 Ammiḫatna is identified as ^{LÚ}SANGA, whereas in KUB 30.42 iv 19'-24', a catalog tablet referring to the tablet KBo 23.1,⁴³³ we find the same name together with two other cult functionaries, Tulpi and Mati, called *purapši*-men: "One IM.GÍD.DA-tablet complete. The account of Ammiḫatna, Tulpi and Mati, the *purapši*-men of Kummanni. If they find desecration of whatever kind, in the temple, in a holy place, this is the ritual for it" (KBo 23.1 ii 17-19⁴³⁴). In another text a *purapši*-man performs next to a SANGA-priest (KBo 33.188 ii 4-6⁴³⁵). Therefore one may conclude that they are different kinds of cult functionaries, though both can be regarded as priests.⁴³⁶

This practice of writing rituals that indicate the author's name belongs to the tradition of the Hurrians of Kizzuwatna; we do not find such texts bearing the author's name and referring to the priests of the Hattian-Hittite rituals.

F) KUB 32.133 shows the power of the priesthood in changing the course of religious activities on account of a deity of that region.⁴³⁷ On obv. i we learn from Muršili II about the activity of the priests in this regard: "Thus said his Majesty Muršili, the great king, son of Šuppiluliuma, the Great King the hero: "When my (fore)father Tudḫaliya the Great King moved out the Deity of the Night from the temple of the Deity of the Night in Kizzuwatna, and he worshiped it in the temple of the town of Šamuḫa, the ceremonies and regulations/obligations which he had mandated for the temple of the Deity of the Night, the scribes of wooden tablet and the Temple-Men came, and they had changed it/ falsified it." In the lines that follow, exact instructions on the cult provisions and rituals are listed, as dictated anew by king Muršili in case "the king or the queen or a prince or a princess come (to worship) the Deity of the Night in the town of Šamuḫa" (lines 8-10). The text

⁴³³ Laroche, CTH, p. 163, and CTH 472.

⁴³⁴ Compare CHD P/3: 383^b.

⁴³⁵ See CHD P/3: 384^a.

⁴³⁶ CHD P/3: 384^b states that "the *purapši*-priests are attested only in southeastern Asia Minor where Hurrian influences were felt, i.e. Kummanni/Kizzuwatna, Lawazantiya and Tarḫuntašša."

⁴³⁷ KUB 32.133 was lately edited by Miller, *StBoT* 24: 312-315. We see in this text the practice of dictating to the scribes the rituals of the deity, in this case the Deity of the Night: see below under 4.3.5 p. 307.

ends as follows:

Rev. iv

x+1 [EN.S]ISKUR? ar-ḥa x[]x a-pí-e-da-ni GE₆-an-ti
 2' ša-ak-nu-ua-an-za^{LÚ} ša-an-ku-un-n[i-i]š-ša ku-i-e-eš^{MUNUS} kat-ri-iš-ša
 3' A-NA EN.SIŠKUR an-da ú-e-ri-ja-an-te-eš e-šir nu-za a-pí-e-ja
 4' I-NA É^{MES}-ŠU-NU ar-ḥa pa-a-an-zi

[The off]erant [] away [.....]; the desecrated (one), the *šankunni*-priest and the *katra*-priestess, who were summoned to the offerant on that night, they, too, go away to their houses.⁴³⁸

Colophon:

DUB 1 KAM ŠA^{GE} Ū-UL QA-TI ma-^{la}[-an LUGAL]
 na-aš-šu DUMU.LUGAL na-aš-ma DUMU.MUNUS.LUGAL
 [URUŠa-mu-ḥa ú-iz-zi]
 SU^mAn-gul-li^{LÚ} DUB.SAR DUMU^mPal-la-a
 PA-NI^mA-nu-ua-an-za ŠA^{LÚ}SAG IŠ-ṬUR

The first tablet of the Deity of the Night. Not finished. When the [king or the queen,] or a prince or a princess [comes to Šamuḥa]. Written by the hand of Angulli, the scribe the son of Palla, in front of Anuwanza the courtier.

The closing colophon repeats the lines of the obv. i 8-10, indicating that the text includes regulations for the cult when royalty visits the temple.⁴³⁹

4.1.6.2 Daily routine and sleeping in the temple, cleaning the temple, and caring for the festivals

The SANGA-priest is one of many cult functionaries who takes care of the temple and the cultic routine of festivals and rituals. However, from the texts it seems that he is the main figure in charge of such activity. It is presumably correct to assume that in small cult places he fulfills most of the cult duties, while in larger ones he plays a lesser role according to the needs of the place. Still, it is clear that, in large and small places alike, he conducts similar activities.

The SANGA-priest takes part in different stages of the rituals conducted at the temple. He welcomes the king on his arrival at the temple, then he stands at the gate of the temple or at the

⁴³⁸ Compare *CHD* Š: 186^a.

⁴³⁹ See Kronasser (1963) 59-60 on this text as indicating that the "sacrificer, offerant" is a member of the royalty.

entrance to the courtyard (KUB 44.13 obv. iii⁷ 3-6). He is present inside the inner chamber during the ritual and is seated by the scepter-bearer in front of the king (KUB 25.9 ii 6'-10'); or, as a group of priests, they are seated in front of the prince (IBoT 1.29 i 18f). Each typical component of the SANGA-priest's duties is described in the following.

A) The daily routine of the SANGA-priest is revealed in three texts originating from Nerik and Zippalanda, which can be classified as *išhiul* texts. The texts are classified as such by the appearance of the word *išhiul*, as well as by the language. KUB 31.113 obv. i 1 has the noun *išhiul* in a broken line. It is followed by instructions regarding the use of water for the temple, and the way the SANGA-priest must act at the opening and closing of the temple: KUB 31.113⁴⁴⁰

- x+1 []instructio[ns]
 2' The water which (is) outside the town, [these bring]
 3' The water which (is) up (in town), these do not [bring]
 4' Do not keep taking this for the rituals of the deity.
 5' The water for the daily bread of the deity [from] *gauriya*-forest,
 6' (or) from *dunnariya*-forest you keep bringing over.
 7' You shall keep taking this (water) for the rituals of the deity.
-
- 8' Concerning the daily bread, which His Majesty br[eaks] to the deity,
 9' You, SANGA-priests, proceed as follows:
 10' when in the morning the SANGA-priests and the exorcist
 11' go before the temple, they take away the thick bread[s]
 12' from before the deity. The temple
 13' they sweep out and sprinkle. The thick bread[s]
 14' they shall present. When it becomes night,
 15' he shall take a lamp, and they will close the temple.
 16'-17' However, a SANGA-priest and the exorcist shall sleep
 before the door.⁴⁴¹
-
- 18' And furthermore, regarding the temples, when in the morning
 19' The [S]ANGA-priest and the exorcist go, let them circle around⁴⁴²
 20' the temples. Further, let them [sweep] them,
 21' and let them [sprinkle] [them]. Let them c[lose] them down.

⁴⁴⁰ The text was treated by Haas (1970) 130-133. See there for the transliteration. A dupl. to lines 13-21 is KUB 57.36 for which compare Popko (1988) 92.

⁴⁴¹ For the translation compare *CHD* Š: 185^b.

⁴⁴² See van den Hout (1990b) 426.

First, the right kind of water for the cult rituals is identified. It must come from the spring in a forest. Then the daily bread is taken care of. Next, the temple is cleaned by sweeping and sprinkling, and the new thick bread is presented to the gods. Those who perform the activity are the SANGA-priests, we do not know how many, and the ^{LÚ}HAL, an “exorcist” or “seer”.

The next instruction concerns the night. There is no indication of the activity in the temple during the day. When night falls the SANGA-priest probably takes a lamp and closes down the temple. Both a SANGA-priest and the exorcist must sleep before the gate/door of the temple. In the other text from Nerik, KBo 2.4, the instructions relate to the Monthly Festival for the Storm-god of Nerik and other deities (CTH 672).⁴⁴³ Col. i determines the bread and beverages to be presented to the temple for the deities ^dDazzu, ^{UR.SAG}Harwa, and ^dAšhaluga by the Hattian singer. In line 18 the SANGA-priests are mentioned:

18 nu ^{LÚ}MEŠ SANGA ^{LÚ}HAL-ja pa-a-an-zi
 19 nu GIM-an SISKUR pi-ja-an-zi GAL^{BLA}-kán
 20 aš-ša-nu-ua-an-zi na-at-kán pa-ra-a
 21 ú-ua-an-zi nu-kán É DINGIR^{LIM} pa-ra-a
 22 hu-it-ti-ja-an-zi na-at an-da ši-ja-an-zi

The SANGA-priests and the exorcist go,
 and when they present the SISKUR-ritual, the cups
 they arrange. Then they come forth
 and they pull shut the temple and seal it.

As mentioned in the first text, a SANGA-priest and an exorcist must sleep before the gate/door of the temple. The following text clarifies that it is at the courtyard. This text is from Zippalanda and describes the duties of the SANGA-priest as follows:
 KUB 55.21⁴⁴⁴

Rev. iv 1-9

1 A-NA GIŠ.NÁ ^{LÚ}SANGA ták-na-aš ^dUTU-aš

⁴⁴³ Transliterated and translated by Haas (1970) 278-292. See for the duplicates Klengel (1999) 283 [A23].

⁴⁴⁴ Popko, *THeth* 21: 280: A. KUB 57.29 B. KUB 55.21: obv. i = A. rev. iii 6'f. According to obverse KUB 57.29 ii, there is a quotation in the first person regarding the defilement of the body. At the last lines something is required to be in front of the Storm-god of Zippalanda and the Sun-goddess of the Earth. The language is of commands:]xx-kiiddu; ešdu.

2 ̂hi-e-li iš-pár-ra-an-zi
 3 na-aš a-pí-ja še-eš-ke-eš-ki-iz-zi

They will spread the bed for the
 SANGA-priest, of the Sun-goddess of the Earth, at the courtyard.
 He sleeps over there regularly.

4 [i]š-̂i-ú-ul-la-aš-ši ki-i
 5 [iš-pá]r²-ru-mar ši-iš-ki-ja-u-ua-ar a-a-[ra]
 6 [az-z]i-ik-ki-iz-zi-za
 7 [ták-na-aš] ^dUTU-i pí-ra-an
 8 [a]r-̂a ^{Ú-UL} pá-r-ši-ja-zi
 9 [x ^{LÚ}UMMEDA

And this (is) his obligation:
 (making) right the spreading (and) sleeping
 He (will) eat
 in front of the Sun-goddess [of Earth]
 [] he will not break off.
 [] the guard

10-14' too fragmentary.

In Zippalanda the SANGA-priest sleeps regularly in the courtyard of the temple, probably before the entrance door. The next obligation is eating in front of the deity.

Another mention of the priest sleeping in the temple is in KBo 26.207, an inventory text which tells of a new temple:

x+5]x x pa-ra-a tal-li-iš-kán-zi x[
 6'] [É] DINGIR^{LIM} GIBIL an-da-an tal-li-i[š-kán-zi
 7'] x [SÁ] É DINGIR^{LIM} ^{LÚ}SANGA LIBIR.RA še-eš-z[i
 8' š]a-ša-nu-uš ti-an-zi [

] they let it forth[
] to the new temple [they] let in[
] the old SANGA-priest sleeps inside the temple[
] they set the lamps[

The lamps indicate the night falling, which implies a sleeping priest in the temple. It is interesting to note that the old SANGA-priest is the one who sleeps in the new temple.

Another Zippalanda text mentioning the SANGA-priest sleeping in a temple is a fragment (mentioned 4.1.2.5 p. 154): “on which place the SANGA-priest with the horned headware of Zippalanda usually sleeps, on that place the *min[ea?]*-man [will

sleep?])". He must have had a special place within the temple, which raises the question whether this sleeping place may have been for the purpose of incubation.⁴⁴⁵

B) As for the cleaning of the temples, we find that the method is always described in the same two words: they sweep and sprinkle. The words *ša-an-ḥa-an-zi* ("they clean, sweep"), and *ḥar-ni-ia-an-zi* ("they sprinkle") appear together often in the texts that mention the cleaning of temples: CTH 456 rev. iii 5-7 (2.4.2 p. 18), KUB 41.30 (2.6 p. 26), KBo 13.179 ii 7-10, and KBo 13.164 i 5-7.⁴⁴⁶

C) Care for the festivals seems to be one of the major obligations of the SANGA-priests along with maintaining purity and the daily ritual.⁴⁴⁷ The SANGA-priest is responsible for the celebrations of the different festivals, and even more so, not to forget or to deliberately omit performing the celebrations on time. This is interestingly evident in oracle investigations, a genre of texts which inquires of the LU^{MES} É.DINGIR^{LIM}, "Temple-Men", concerning sins or negligence occurring in the temples.⁴⁴⁸ In KBo 14.21, an oracle text related to the cult of the Deity of the Night or ⁹Pirwa, they investigate a SANGA-priest who, in his testimony, admits that he omitted the festival of the month for the sixth month. As a result he receives a fine (*zankilatar*), which doubles the offerings he must present. Then (on obv. i 50-53) there is a warning, which reads, *nu ma-a-an A-NA DINGIR^{LIM} ku-u-un EZEN₄ MU.KAM [š]a-ra-a ti-ia-an-ta-an e-eš-ša-an-zi kat-ta-kán Ú-UL ku-it-ki [da]-a-li-iš-kán-zi*: "Then when these (offerings) at the festival of the (beginning) of the year they will celebrate, (as they are) set up for the deity, they will not leave anything behind (for themselves)".⁴⁴⁹

The SANGA-priest's responsibility is indicated in a text from the cult of Nerik in the following way (KUB 27.68 obv. i 1-2).⁴⁵⁰

- 1 [A-N]A [dU^{URU}Za-h]a-lu-qa 12 EZEN₄ ITU.KAM 2 EZ[EN₄ 1
EZEN₄ DI₁₂-šI]
2 1 EZEN₄ zé-e-ni 1 EZEN BURU₁₄ ki-nu-un LU^USANGA ta-[ni-nu-zi]

⁴⁴⁵ On this see below 4.1.6.9 p. 201.

⁴⁴⁶ For more see CHD Š: 168-9 under *šanḥ*-; see also Puhvel, HED 3: 403-404 under *ḥurnai*-.

⁴⁴⁷ See the discussion of this topic above 3.9.4.3 p. 117.

⁴⁴⁸ For example below under 4.3.2 pp. 283-289.

⁴⁴⁹ As a parallel fragment see KBo 24.132.

⁴⁵⁰ Treated by Haas (1970) 300-301.

[Fo]r [the Storm-god of the town of Zaḥ]aluqa twelve monthly festivals, (and) two festivals: the spring festival and the fall festival and the harvest festival, now the SANGA-priest se[ts in order].

The instructions to the SANGA-priest on the ways of celebrating the deities continue in this text. But from this brief passage we learn that the SANGA-priest sets all these festivals in order.

D) The responsibility of the SANGA-priests for the festivals is more prominent in texts from outside the large cult centers, as can be seen from the inventory texts. In these documents, usually one SANGA-priest is mentioned as being responsible for the festivals at a certain town or in a certain temple. Such is the case in KUB 17.35, which includes descriptions of festivals from several towns. The activity of the SANGA-priest is quite similar from one festival to another. It seems that the beginning of the festival is signaled by the activity of the SANGA-priest, who initiates it with the act of washing. If they celebrate at the *ḥuwaši*-stone, then it is to be washed as well, and the SANGA-priest carries the statue of the deity to the *ḥuwasi*-stone. In some of the descriptions the carrying of the deity is written with a verb in the plural form. It may be that the SANGA-priest physically carries it, but the other participants go together with him (col. ii 16'-18'). The SANGA-priest's next action is to consecrate an animal or several animals for the sacrifice; see col. i 1'-2', 20', col. ii 19', col. iii 3-4, 28-29, and col. iv 9, [19-20, 27]. For more about the proper care for festivals, see below on the celebration from the house of the priest (4.1.7.2 pp. 209-211).

4.1.6.3 The SANGA-priest's care for his own purity

The basic purity of the SANGA-priest is dictated, indirectly, in the Hittite laws, in paragraph §200 (KBo 6.26 iv 23-25⁴⁵¹): "If a man sins (sexually) with either a horse or a mule, it is not an offence, but he shall not approach the king, nor shall he become a SANGA-priest". The SANGA-priest is thus an exemplar of a man of purity. As Hoffner says of the person just described: "he has committed no punishable crime, but he has become so defiled by the incident that he may not enter the king's presence or ever become a priest". Becoming a priest means to cross the king's as well as the gods' threshold. The purity of both king and SANGA-priest is equal.⁴⁵²

⁴⁵¹ Hoffner (1997b) 157-158.

⁴⁵² See 3.9.4.4 p. 123 above, and the quoted article by de Martino (2004c).

A) The concern for the SANGA-priest's state of cleanliness and purity appears in all the texts that mention the way festivals should be celebrated. We have already noted this concern in two texts prescribing festivals: a festival in Zippalanda where "all the Temple-Men wash themselves" (2.6 above p. 26), and a festival of conciliation where "then, the SANGA-priests (and) the AMA.DINGIR-priestesses, in advance, wash themselves, and they take off the circlets from their (own) heads, and they enwrap their heads with white head-bands. They wear their white clothes, too" (2.4.2 above, ii 24'-26' rev. 1-2 p. 18-19). In addition to the washing they wear special clean clothes for the festival.

This act of washing before festivals is repeated in all the schematic descriptions of festival celebrations in the inventory texts, as for example KUB 17.35 i 1', 17' iii [1], 24 iv 3-4. Other examples are KUB 38.32 i 8-10, and KBo 2.8 i 20-21.

B) In a text from the Hurrian tradition we learn also of a purification rite for the SANGA-priest that takes place at his house before leaving for the temple. KBo 19.130 is a ritual for Hepat according to its colophon: DUB 1 KAM-pát? ŠA ʔH[é-p]át x[] QA-TI. The content of the ritual describes some festival or ritual to the goddess. The SANGA-priest in this context is acting a bit differently than in the Hittite-Hattic material, however. Some kind of ceremony ends on obv. i 12', and the next paragraph describes a new day of the festival.⁴⁵³

13' [m]a-a-an lu-uk-kat-ta nu-za LUSANGA a-ar-r[i]
 14' 1 LUE ka-ri-im-na-a-la-aš-ma šu-up-p[í-?]
 15' I-NA É LUSANGA pí-e-da-i na-at-za [LUSANGA]
 16' A-NA KA.DU-ŠU la-a-ḫu-i

17' na-aš ša-ra-a É ʔHé-pát pa-iz-zi [?]
 18' LU^{MES} É ka-ri-im-na-li-iš-ma KÁ-G[AL? É DINGIR^{LIM}]
 19' pí-ra-an a-ra-an-da-ri

20' nu A-NA LUSANGA me-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-da []
 21' ḫal-zi-ja-an-zi LUSANGA A-N[A]
 22' ša-a-ḫu-ur ḫal-za-a-i x[]
 23' [an-d]a pa-iz-zi nu x[]
 24' Broken

When it dawns the SANGA-priest wash[es].
 One Temple-Man, however, pure [oil/water?]

⁴⁵³ Compare with Trémouille (1997) 120.

brings to the house of the SANGA-priest. [The SANGA-priest] pours it on his head.

Then he goes up to the temple of Hepat [The Temple-Men, however, are standing in front of the gate [of the temple].

Facing the SANGA-priest [something] they call out. The SANGA-priest [to the Temple-Men] "šāḫur" calls out. [To the temple] he enters.

Broken

It seems that the SANGA-priest receives special treatment by the Temple-Man with some purifying material (if we are allowed to guess, either oil or water), which is poured over his head after he had washed himself. He is then summoned to the temple in a special ceremony by fellow priests.

It is not clear whether the Temple-Man brings him pure oil, or perhaps water, to pour over his head. We know of the use of oil to anoint the statues of the deities, but we have not found a mention of the anointing of a priest as part of his purification.⁴⁵⁴

C) Death of a SANGA-priest's wife as a cause for impurity: KBo 23.106 is a Middle Hittite oracle inquiry regarding the cult.⁴⁵⁵ Towards the end of the reverse is this account: (rev. 13'-16'):

13' na-aš nam-ma pu-nu-uš-šu-en nu ki-iš-ša-an me-mi-ir
 14' A-NA LUSANGA ʔḫu-ul-la-ua-kán MU.IM.MA DAM-ZU BA.ÚŠ
 15' pa-ra-a-ma-ua-ra-aš-kán Ú-UL BIL-an-za a-pa-a-ša-ua-aš-ša-an
 16' iš-ta-na-ni EGIR-ma ša-li-ki-eš-ki-iz-zi

We questioned them again. And thus they said: "Regarding the SANGA-priest of the deity Hulla, his wife died last year. She was not fully cremated.⁴⁵⁶ Still that one kept approaching behind the altar".

The priest was defiled by the death of his wife but did not conduct any purification ceremony. Even seeing a dead person is considered

⁴⁵⁴ For purification with blood, for implements of the temple see KUB 29.4 iv 38-39. For a comment on the possible meaning of the use of blood see Collins (2005) 31-32. King Tudḫaliya IV is said to be anointed for SANGA-priest in Nerik on KUB 36.90, probably with oil.

⁴⁵⁵ See van den Hout (2001) 426-427.

⁴⁵⁶ An alternative translation of the CHD Š1: 101^b is "but she is not sent off". For the translation of "fully", see the usage of *parā* as preverb in CHD P2: 126.

an impurity, as seen in the oracle inquiry which mentions the cook who saw a dead man but did not wash himself afterwards (4.3.2 p. 295 below, KUB 16.34 i 15-16).

We may add here the account of Ammiḫatna, the SANGA-priest of the deity Išhara from Kizzuwatna, who tells how he purifies a man who encounters some kind of impurity. In this ritual Ammiḫatna identifies the person as *an-tu-ṽa-aḫ-ḫa-aš šu-up-pí*, which I interpret as “sacred man”, meaning some kind of a priest and not an ordinary person.⁴⁵⁷ The causes for impurity are recounted as follows (KBo 5.2 i 3-9):⁴⁵⁸

3 ma-a-an an-tu-ṽa-aḫ-ḫa-aš šu-up-pí-<iš> nu-uš-ši NINDA-an
4 mar-ša-an ku-iš-ki a-da-an-na pa-a-i na-aš-ma-aš-ši UZU-Ì
5 mar-ša-an a-da-an-na pa-a-i na-Ì-aš-ma-aš-ši NINDA-an UZU-Ì
6 al-ṽa-an-za-aḫ-ḫa-an ku-iš-ki a-da-an-na pa-a-i

7 na-aš-ma-aš-ši ŠA É.NA₄ NINDA-an UZU-Ì ku-iš-ki
8 a-da-an-na pa-a-i na-aš-ma-aš-ši ŠA MUNUS tu-e-ek-ki-iš-ši
9 e-eš-ḫar a-ku-ṽa-an-na pa-a-i nu ki-i SISKUR.SISKUR
ši-pa-an-da-aḫ-ḫi

When a man is pure and someone gives him impure bread to eat, or he gives him to eat impure sheep fat, or to him bewitched bread (and sheep fat someone gives to eat.

Or to him someone gives to eat bread (and) sheep fat from the mausoleum; or to him a woman whose body is bleeding (i.e. menstruation) gives to drink, this SISKUR ritual I perform.

Danger of impurity lies with priests who encounter either impure food, sorcery, death, or a menstruating woman. Another source of impurity can come from contact with the mausoleum or mourning women (4.3.2 pp. 295-296 below, KUB 16.34 i 19-22).

D) Some indication is made regarding purification within the ritual. In IBoT 1.29, a ritual performed by the (crown) prince and cult personnel, twelve SANGA-priests sit before the prince for celebration. On i 25-26 it is said: “And before they are [sea]ted to eat, towards the door at the gate of the cook house a *tazzelli*-priest (and) the SANGA-priests purify (themselves).”

⁴⁵⁷ This is in light of the use of the adjective *šuppi-*. See 4.1.2.4 pp. 148-152.

⁴⁵⁸ Dupl. KBo 27.131 and KBo 45.222.

A fragment, KUB 59.32, which was treated by Haas⁴⁵⁹ as part of the cult of Nerik rituals, describes a SANGA-priest of Zašḫapuna and a SANGA-priest of the town of Nerik washing their hands during the ritual.

Purification at the *hešta*-house is described for the king and the SANGA-priest on IBoT 3.1.⁴⁶⁰ During the ceremony at the *hešta*-house, the king, before entering the inner room, conducts some kind of a purification act by throwing *ḫarneššar* to the hearth. The interesting activity of the SANGA-priest who is called *šu-up-pa-i* (“sacred”) is to repeat the act of the king, by throwing *ḫarneššar* to the hearth.⁴⁶¹

4.1.6.4 Caring for the deity: washing, anointing, carrying the deity’s statue, and holding the deity’s implements

The SANGA-priest is in charge of the deity at his temple, or at the place where he serves. His care for the deity involves washing it, anointing it, carrying it to celebrations, and presenting its food. These activities will be discussed in this section.⁴⁶²

A) In the text KUB 11.32+, which describes the NIN.DINGIR’s celebration to the deity Tetešḫapi, the SANGA-priest carries the deity as follows: in col. iii 5-13 the NIN.DINGIR travels to Dawiniya, and before she mounts the carriage “The SANGA-priest lifts the deity Te[tešḫapi]”. In col. iv 1’-8’ something similar occurs: “The SANGA-priest lifts the deity and he brings (the deity) out of the tent. The NIN.DINGIR, too, comes out and she seats herself in the carriage. In front runs the scepter-bearer of the deity”. Then she goes to the *uḫurušša*-forest. “But when she arrives at the forest, the tent (is) pitched there too. The NIN.DINGIR comes down off the carriage. The SANGA-priest leads the deity inside the tent. The NIN.DINGIR [and] a *šiwanzanna*-priestess go in”. In column v 2’-7’ the NIN.DINGIR seems to return to the temple of Tetešḫapi. The text is as follows: “Before the NIN.DINGIR has arrived into the temple of the deity Tetešḫapi, the SANGA-priest leads in the deity, and he sets it (i.e. statue) behind the altar”. The SANGA-priest

⁴⁵⁹ Haas (1970) 313 as Bo 3112.

⁴⁶⁰ See above 4.1.2.4 p. 150.

⁴⁶¹ Compare also with KBo 23.79 ii 1-10, and see KUB 34.69+34.70 obv. 5’-8’ where the SANGA-priest throws cheese into the fire.

⁴⁶² I left the presentation of the food for the deity to the next section, under the description of the SANGA-priest’s ritual activity.

holds the deity throughout the NIN.DINGIR's excursions to the different places of worship. Since he holds the deity Tetešhapi, he must be the SANGA-priest of this deity.⁴⁶³

B) Another text describing the SANGA-priest holding the deity is KUB 27.68,⁴⁶⁴ in which the SANGA-priest arranges the festivals for the Storm-god of the town Zaḫḫaluqqa. His actions are as follows (col. i 13-15): "He stands and summons the Storm-god of Zaḫḫaluqqa. [He brings] the sacred [deity] back into the temple. Then he puts it on the altar."

C) During the 29th day of the ANTAḤŠUM-festival the SANGA-priest is described taking care of the deities. According to the restoration of KUB 20.59 and KUB 9.140 by Popko and Taracha,⁴⁶⁵ the second and third columns read as translated below:

Col. ii 7'-13'

Then the SANGA-priest takes away from the altar a certain deity, and all the deities. Also the deities Izzummi and Kali he takes away from the altar. He brings them into the inner chamber, and he puts them in a reed *ḫare-x* (basket).

Col. iii 1'-9'

[. they sweep the] temple of [Ea]
[The SANGA-priest?] washes the deities, [and with oil] he anoints [them]. [The SANGA-priest] brings forth from [the inner chamber the deities]. [Then the SANGA-priest] places them, the deity Ea, Damkina, the Great-god, and the Deities of Fortune, back on the a[ltar]. He also puts back on the altar Izzummi and Kali.

D) KUB 25.23 is an inventory of festivals of the towns Urešta and Ḫakmiš.⁴⁶⁶ In the spring the SANGA-priests and GUDU-priests arrive with the noblemen, probably bringing the deity with them, when the festival's celebration ends. Thus reads the text in obv. i 32'-33': "The next day they take up the deity and carry him home to Ḫakmiš. And he (is) there".

⁴⁶³ Mentioned for example in the texts of Tetešhapi: KBo 21.90 obv. 4'. The discussion of the NIN.DINGIR texts is presented in 6.2 pp. 384-418.

⁴⁶⁴ Haas (1970) 300-301.

⁴⁶⁵ Popko and Taracha (1988) 89.

⁴⁶⁶ The translation and restoration is according to Hazenbos (2003) 36-40.

E) In KUB 17.35 col. iii 2'⁴⁶⁷ the SANGA-priest washes himself and the deity, then carries the deity to the *ḫuwaši*-stone where it is set before the *ḫuwaši*. In col. iii lines 24-27, during the spring festival to the Great water source, the SANGA-priest washes himself and the deity; next: "The SANGA-priest takes the deity from the altar, and from the [altar?] he brings it forth. He leads the deity to the spring. The deity they arrange [on the spring]." This scene of the deity at the water source reminds us of the scene in the mythological account about Zašḫapuna and Zaliyanu recounting the goddess Zašḫapuna's change of status. The priests, in this case GUDU-priests, hold the gods' (statues), but the scene at the spring is very similar.⁴⁶⁸

According to the inventory text KUB 12.2, we are informed of SANGA-priests serving deities presented on a stela (^{NA4}ZI.KIN; in Hittite, *ḫuyasi*-stone), in an unknown area of Ḫatti.⁴⁶⁹ Each priest is affiliated with a certain stela representing a Storm-god, and he cares for the deity and its festivals.

F) The SANGA-priest has access to implements of the deity. In many texts the SANGA-priest is described as holding implements for use in the cult, much like the following testimony of a priest in KUB 42.100 iii 30'-35': "Thus (said) Lupakki: 'Formerly I did not have []. The man who had it since the days of Muwatalli, has been made SANGA-priest to the Storm-god of Nerik in the (town of) Utruna. [A]s they made me a SANGA-priest, the utensils, after they were handed over to me, have been set up'.⁴⁷⁰

G) The SANGA-priest has utensils for use in the cult which are regarded as his own, but are passed to the next in office if he leaves. This is supported by KUB 38.6 and KUB 38.10,⁴⁷¹ inventory texts of cult utensils held by SANGA-priests in different towns. Here is the description in KUB 38.10 rev. iii 9'-19':

9' The town of Tabbaruta one cup of copper, two horns, one tin-pla[ted] scepter[
10' inside the house of the SANGA-priest of the Storm-god. The town of

⁴⁶⁷ See Carter (1962) 123-153.

⁴⁶⁸ For the text, see under GUDU priest, 4.2.4.5.4 below p. 262.

⁴⁶⁹ Carter (1962) 74-75.

⁴⁷⁰ Hazenbos (2003) 23. Compare *CHD* Š1: 191^a.

⁴⁷¹ These texts were treated by Rost (1961) 185-186; 195.

- Tappriešši: one wooden earring inside the house [of the SANGA-priest]
- 11' of the Sun-god. One wooden earring, one scepter [] inside the house of the SANGA-priest
- 12' one neck of a bull, (as) a scepter, inside the temple of the Storm-god. The town of Išūwa: two statues
- 13' one wooden male statue, standing, of the deity AMAR.UD (and) one wooden female statue, seated, of the deity Iiaš?
- 14' ten *galmuša* one [] earring, one scepter, inside the house of the SANGA-priest.
- 15' The town of Dunna: one sun disk of silver. The town of Šaluwantiya:
- 16' inside the house of the SANGA-priest one earring. The town of Mammananta:
- 17' inside the house of the SANGA-priest one wooden ram of the Storm-god of the Meadow. Inside the house of the SANGA-priest
- 18' one earring, inside the house of the man []... the deity Šalupiya. Inside the house of the SANGA-priest
- 19' one copper cup

This text should be scrutinized in light of another, KBo 9.91 (CTH 241). As Košak summarized it,⁴⁷² the latter text contains three sections: 1) a list of receipts of the provisions for the garrison of the town Nerik, 2) a list of presents given to the cult and cult personnel by the king, and 3) a passage on a ritual in which the queen participates. The second item is of interest to us here. Besides the jewelry donated to the Storm-god of Arinna and the Sun-goddess of Arinna, and a thousand shekels donated from the king to the cult center for the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM-festival, cult implements or symbols are given as follows: "Three copper daggers (to) the SANGA-priests of Arinna, one copper sickle (to) the SANGA-priest [...], one copper sickle (to) the man from Ḫallapiya, one copper sickle (to) the winner of the horse races, one copper sickle (to) the barbarian, two ingots of [b]ronz[e] to the *zintuḫi*-women, one bathtub. They take/set the cloth/dress to the *ḫulpa*-women." The SANGA-priests are entitled to receive implements which are most likely be used during the festival, however, the donations seem to be personal, as is indicated in the text of ITP (3.9.4.8 above p. 128). The donations are for the festival and are probably distributed during the festival. According to Košak, these texts are dated to the period between the last years of Ḫattušili III and the early years of Tudḫaliya IV, that is, the later period of the New Kingdom.⁴⁷³

⁴⁷² Košak (1982) 27.

⁴⁷³ Košak (1982) 204.

The SANGA-priests personally receive the cult implements, which actually belong to the deity.⁴⁷⁴ This may be confirmed by an inventory text which indicates the establishment of a new temple for ZABABA in the town of Tarammeka (KUB 38.1).⁴⁷⁵ The implements donated to the temple are counted and there is a statement regarding the post of a new SANGA-priest, who will be in charge of the paraphernalia of the deity.

H) The SANGA-priest is portrayed as carrying or using three kinds of special vessels: the *tapiššana*-vessel, the *zau*-vessel, and the *iškaruḫ*-vessel. Only a few texts mention him with these vessels, however, mainly during the KILAM-festival and the festival for Tetešhapi.

The *tapiššana*-vessel is made mostly of silver and is used more by the GUDU-priest,⁴⁷⁶ but we find the SANGA-priest carrying it as well in a ritual during the KILAM-festival. In KBo 10.23+11.67 iv 15-10 we read: "At the portico of the gods the SANGA-priest of the Tutelary Deity lets the sacred SANGA-priest of the Tutelary Deity go in front. A *palwatalla*-boy stands. The SANGA-priest of the Tutelary Deity, however, holds a silver *tapiššana*-vessel filled with wine. The sacred SANGA-priest of the Tutelary Deity walks on the right side and the *palwatalla*-boy walks [on the left]."⁴⁷⁷ This resembles the scene in KBo 10.24 ii 2-9⁴⁷⁸ and in KBo 25.180 rev.⁷ 8', also related to the KILAM-festival,⁴⁷⁹ where "the SANGA-priest libates with the *tapiššana*-vessel".

In KBo 19.138 9'-10' the SANGA-priest of Telipinu holds a *tapiššana*-vessel of silver and probably holds it forth to the NIN.DINGIR. In KUB 20.45+17'-20' the ¹⁰SANGA ḫIMIN.IMIN.BI extends to the crown prince the *tapiššana*-vessel, and after the crown prince lays a hand on it he libates.

The *zau*-vessel is also mentioned in the KILAM-festival (at KBo 10.26 i 28f.⁴⁸⁰): "The overseer of the bodyguards brings in the silver *zau* of the sacred SANGA-priest of the town of Zippalanda. And he places it by the wall to the king's right. Behind him the

⁴⁷⁴ See 4.1.6.4 above p. 189 for the testimony of the priest Lupakki.

⁴⁷⁵ See 2.5.2 above p. 25.

⁴⁷⁶ For which see 4.2.4.2 below pp. 243-244.

⁴⁷⁷ See CHD Š: 183^b. Also Singer, *StBoT* 28: 13.

⁴⁷⁸ Singer, *StBoT* 28: 16-17.

⁴⁷⁹ Singer, *StBoT* 28: 97-98.

⁴⁸⁰ Singer, *StBoT* 28: 42-43.

scepter-bearer holds the thick bread. The overseer of the bodyguards extends to the king the silver *zau* on the right side of the wall.”

We should also note a fragment which may belong to the Old Hittite great festival at Zippalanda (KBo 16.78 iv 14):⁴⁸¹ [The SA]NGA-priest stands among other cult personnel and next to the *tazzelli*-man “a *zau* of silver he holds.”

The *iškaruḥ*-vessel is mentioned in KUB 28.104 iv 10'-13', though the SANGA-priest does not handle it himself: ^{LU}SAGI DINGIR^{LM} A-N[A^L] ^{LU}SANGA GAL-r[i] pa-a-i iš-ka-a-r[u-uh] da-a-i ta-aš-še-iš-ša-an [la-a]-ḥu-i ^{LU}SANGA GAL-ri ḥar-[zi] (“The cupbearer gives the SANGA-priest a cup. He takes an *iškaruḥ* and fills it for him. The SANGA-priest holds the cup”). This text belongs to CTH 744 which, like the KI.LAM-festival, is part of the Hattian-Hittite religious tradition.

4.1.6.5 The SANGA-priest in rituals: conducting the ritual, consecration, libation, performing an offering, breaking bread, serving food and being served

The rituals in which the SANGA-priest participates usually begin and end with him acting. In many of the descriptions he is the one who signals the start of a ritual, as well as the one whose acts close the ritual. In the inventory texts, where the king and queen do not participate, the rituals begin with the offering of animals by the SANGA-priest and conclude when the meat is placed in front of the deity (such as in KUB 17.35).

In rituals conducted with the presence of the royal family (king, queen and princes), the SANGA-priest is in a different position. He conducts the ritual for them, serves them during the ritual, and acts symbolically on their behalf. An example is KUB 53.17,⁴⁸² where on column iii 10'-13' we read:

The SANGA-priest and the prince once they drink the Storm-god, Kattaḥḥa, the [Sun-god], Telipinu, Ḫalki, the Storm-god of Heaven and they break thick breads.

The SANGA-priest welcomes them at the entrance to the temple (IBoT 3.1 obv. 8'-16'), and scatters bread at their feet at the gate

⁴⁸¹ Popko, *THeth* 21: 142.

⁴⁸² Popko (1992) 470-471 shows that KUB 60.41 rev. is parallel to the ii column of this text. For comparative material regarding ^{LU}MEŠ SANGA KUR.KUR see *CHD* Š: 193^a, and cf. KUB 43.29 iii 9' (OS) and KBo 20.74 ii 7 (Singer, *StBoT* 27: 166 n. 44).

(KUB 44.13 iii² 3-6; KBo 20.7); he conducts a purification ceremony with *tuhueššar* substance at the courtyard for the king and queen (KBo 4.9 ii 11-23), as well as the NIN.DINGIR (KBo 24.98 6'-8'). He also hands a cloth to the queen after a hand-washing rite at the courtyard (KUB 25.14 i 18'-22'). The SANGA-priests, along with other cult functionaries, may wait for the king at the temple (KBo 30.164 iii 16'-20'), and be seated in front of the king and prince during a ceremony (KBo 10.26 i 32-42; KBo 11.38 ii 38-42; IBoT 1.29 i 18-19) or be seated by the scepter-bearer (KUB 25.1 i 22-26; KBo 27.42 ii 49-51 and KUB 34.69 obv. 6-7). The SANGA-priest may also be seated with a sign from the king: “The king ‘signals’ with his eyes, the SANGA-priest sits, the king sits” (KBo 9.132 iii² 7'-8').

A) As mentioned in KBo 11.50, a spring festival at Zippalanda,⁴⁸³ different cult functionaries are described in col. iv as preparing for a ceremony. The *ḥamena*-man and the table-men offer breads, the Man of the Storm-god holds a scepter, there is a *palwatalla*-man, and the ALAM.ZU₉-man has a ladder; finally the SANGA-priest is described as follows (on lines 24'-27'):⁴⁸⁴

^{LU}SANGA-ma [(ḥa-an-te-ez-zi)]
É ḥi-i-l[(i)] ti-i-ez-zi
ta-az G[(UNNI) ta-pu-u(š-za)]
A-ŠAR-ŠU [(e-ep-zi)]

The SANGA-priest steps in front of the courtyard.

Then he takes his place beside the hearth.⁴⁸⁵

The SANGA-priest has access to all the areas of the temple. Thus he is at the courtyard and the hearth, at the entrance (KBo 10.23+11.67 iv 15-10'') and the inner chamber where he prostrates himself before the deity (KBo 23.79 ii 8); while he stands before the deity he offers bread and meat.

B) The SANGA-priest conducts the sacrificial ritual, as described in many texts. For example, let us look at KUB 44.14+11.30 iii 15'-22':⁴⁸⁶

⁴⁸³ Popko, *THeth* 21: 160-170.

⁴⁸⁴ Popko, *THeth* 21: 166-167.

⁴⁸⁵ In KUB 56.46 obv. i 30'-31' (with dupl. KUB 59.16 iii 1-12) “The SANGA-priest of the deity Inara (is) running ahead. He takes position behind the hearth”.

⁴⁸⁶ Popko, *THeth* 21: 208-209.

- 15' The one bull and one ram of [the deity's flock] which
 16' [are ascertained], he leads them back to the temple.
 17' Then, the SANGA-priest offers them
 18' to the Storm-god of Zippalanda.
 19' The pure meat, cooked and raw, he sets in place.
 20' He breaks thick bread.
 21' He fills the rhytons. ...[]
 22' And he arranges the cups of the temple.

A text on Urešta and Ḥakmiš (KUB 25.23 obv. i) specifies for the SANGA-priests the following:⁴⁸⁷

- 26' The next day the SANGA-priests⁴⁸⁸ celebrate in their house for
 (mountain) Ḥaluanna a spring festival
 27' at the expense of their house. They consecrate one sheep. They put
 down meat, raw
 28' (and) cooked. (There are) thirty loaves of bread (and) three vessels
 of beer of the house of the SANGA-priest,
 29' (and) ten loaves of bread (and) one *huppar*-vessel of beer on the
 altar, twenty loaves of bread, two vessels of beer (and) a *huppar* of
 beer to provide for.
 30' They break thick bread. They fill the rhytons.
 31' They eat. They drink. They provide for the cups.

This may be compared with the *išhiul* for the priests from Nerik (KBo 2.4 i 18-21):⁴⁸⁹ "The SANGA-priests and the seer go, and when they give the SISKUR-ritual, the cups they arrange."

The SANGA-priest breaks bread (KBo 11.29 obv. 3, 14; KUB 27.68 i 6-12⁴⁹⁰; KBo 2.14 iii 8-9, 13-14 (passim)⁴⁹¹; KBo 20.4 i 6), and he brings it to the inner chamber before the deity, as in KUB 10.27 iii 39'-44' (festival with the NIN.DINGIR): "They give to drink. [The deity Zithariya?] she drinks seated. The sin[ger] *takarmu*-bread break[s]. The SANGA-priest of the [*kurša*]-bag in[to] the sacred inner chamber [brings] it. This, in front of the deity Zitha[ria he places]." In other rituals the bread is placed over the offered meat in front of the deity, as in KBo 20.113, a ritual for Hepat and Teššub and their circle of deities. For instance, in col.

⁴⁸⁷ Hazenbos (2003) 30-40. Also with Carter (1962) 154-176.

⁴⁸⁸ The text has ^{LU}SANGA in singular, but with all the following verbs in the plural.

⁴⁸⁹ Haas (1970) 278-292. Above KUB 31.113 p. 179.

⁴⁹⁰ The festival of the month to the Storm-god of Zaḥḥaluqqa, Haas (1970) 300-301.

⁴⁹¹ The festival for Telipinu CTH 638.

iii 2'-5': "The SANGA-priest of the Storm-god warm-bread [], these he keeps breaking. Then, [], the *kazmida*-bread he crumbles. Fragm[ent](on) the arm meat he puts."

In IBoT 1.10 iii 5'-8' the SANGA-priest presents the bread or meat to the prince who touches it with the hand. Then the SANGA-priest gives it to the GUDU-priest who places it behind the altar. The sacrificer identifies himself by placing his hand on the offered meat. The priests here act only as mediators.

Together with the bread, the SANGA-priest presents the deity with meat as well. Presenting the meat is usually described after the verbs *šipant-* ("to offer, to consecrate") and then in the third plural *hukanzi* ("they slaughter"). It seems to me that the SANGA-priest himself may not be involved in the whole procedure of the slaughtering, but only the start of it. This may be seen in a text on the cult of Nerik, KUB 25.24 obv. line 10: "One sheep of the house of the SANGA-priest they consecrate. The sheep they slaughter."⁴⁹² In KBo 11.46 v 13' it is clearly said that the cooks are responsible for the meat.

C) In the ritual for the deity Ištar-Pirinkir, which includes recitations in Babylonian⁴⁹³ by the SANGA-priest, a rare description of the sacrificial procedure can be seen. From KUB 39.71⁴⁹⁴ col. ii 14-17, we learn that after the SANGA-priest finishes reciting in Babylonian he "takes a silver ZA.ḤUM-vessel full of beer and places it in the hands of the sacrificer." Then in lines 30-33:

nu-za ^{LU}ša-ku-ni-eš BAL-u-^{LU}ḡa-l[-an-z]i e-ep-zi nu-za ^{LU}ša-ku-ni-eš
 NINDA[.SIG da-a]-i na-at ar-ḡ[a] pâr-si-ja-az-zi n[a-at-kán^{GI}] lu-u-
 e-eš-ni š[e-ir] da-a-i

The *šakuni*-priest starts to offer. The *šakuni*-priest [tak]es a [thin] bread [], he crumbles it and he places it on the *lueššar*.⁴⁹⁵

From HT 5 and KUB 39.71 iii we learn that the *šankuni*-priest takes a salted thin bread from the *kurša*-bag of reed, and puts a knife on it. They bring in a sheep. The *šankuni*-priest takes a silver ZA.ḤUM-vessel of water, and lifts the bread and the knife. He holds out to the goddess the ZA.ḤUM vessel and sprinkles the water over the sheep. Then he pours out the water of the ZA.ḤUM-

⁴⁹² Haas (1970) 244.

⁴⁹³ The Akkadian language, as the Hittites call it in this text. See Beckman (2002) 35-36.

⁴⁹⁴ This text was treated by Kühne (1993) 245-249.

⁴⁹⁵ Probably incense, see *CHD* L-N: 73 (compare this text on p. 74^a).

vessel for the hand(-washing) of the sacrificer. Next he recites, and he places the ZA.ĤUM-vessel in the hand of the sacrificer. The thin salted bread and the knife he places on the sheep, thus consecrating the sacrificer's sheep. The *šankuni*-priest recites again. Then the *šankuni*-priest puts salt on the mouth of the sheep. Next the *šankuni*-priest takes a sample from different parts of the sheep (head, breast) and he places these on bread and in another vessel. He takes the ZA.ĤUM-vessel away from the sacrificer, and puts it next to the *kurša*-bag of reed, and the sacrificer steps back. The cook leads forth the sheep and they slit its throat.⁴⁹⁶

The SANGA-priest conducts the consecration ritual for the sacrificer, but the animal is being slaughtered by the cook who leads the animal away from the deity.

In a few other rituals of Hurrian origin the description of the SANGA-priest is as follows:

1) KBo 22.180

- 12' nu ^{LÚ}SANGA I NINDA.SIG pá-r-ši-ja še-ir-ma-aš-ša-an ^{UZU}GA[BA]
 13' ĥu-u-i-šu ^{UZU}NÍG.GIG ^{UZU}ŠÀ ku-ra-a-an da-a-i[?]
 14' na-aš-ta ^{UZU}GABA IŠ-TU GEŠTIN ši-pa-an-ti [?]
 15' na-an-ša-an EGIR-pa PA-NI ^dĤé-pát da-a[i]
 16' nu GEŠTIN ši-pa-an-ti

The SANGA-priest breaks one thin bread. Above, however, he places raw bre[ast] meat, livers, (and) hearts cut (into pieces) on (it). [?]
 Then, the breast meat he consecrates with wine. [?]
 Then he puts it back in front of the goddess Ĥepat.
 Wine he libates.

2) KUB 25.44 ii² includes a priestess of Ĥepat as well, but the SANGA-priest sacrifices the animal; he also libates to the underworld deities:

- 23' nu ^{MUNUS}SANGA ^dĤé-pát Û ^{LÚ}SANGA ^dU ša-ra-a ti-an-z[i]
 24' [n]a-at UŠ-KI-EN-NU na-at-kán pa-ra-a pa-a-an-[zi]
 25' ma-aĥ-ĥa-an-ma iš-pa-an-za ki-ša-ri na-aš-ta x[
 26' ^{LÚ}SANGA ^dU IŠ-TU KAŠ A-NA ^dKASKAL.KUR ši-pa-an-ti
 27' I MÁŠ.GAL-šma-kán¹ [A-NA] ^dĤé-pát ši-pa-an-ti
 28' nam-ma-aš PA-NI ^d[KASKAL.]KUR-pát ũa-ar-nu-an-[zi]
 29' nu SAĤAR^{III.A}-uš ša-ra-a da-an-zi na-aš ar-ĥa

⁴⁹⁶ See CHD Š: 187^a.

- 30' [i]š-ĥu-u-ĥa-an-zi ku-e-da-ni-ma-aš pí-di
 31' [i]š-ĥu-u-ĥa-an-zi n[a-a]t Û-UL ku-it-ki
 32' [t]u-uq-qa-a-ri

- 23' A SANGA-priestess of the goddess Ĥepat and a SANGA-priest of the Storm-god step up (the offerings).
 24' They bow, and they go forth.

- 25' When, however, it becomes night (time), then []
 26' the SANGA-priest of the Storm-god libates with beer to ^dKASKAL.KUR.

- 27' One he-goat to the goddess Ĥepat they offer.
 28' Further, they burn them in front of the deity ^d[KASKAL.]KUR alone.

- 29' Then, they take up the remains/ashes and they
 30' dump it. However, on what spot
 31' they dump it, that is of no
 32' account/ no importance.⁴⁹⁷

Next the king and queen offer animal sacrifice

3) KBo 7.44 ⁴⁹⁸

- Obv. 2'-16'
 The SANGA-priest washes himself, and [....]
 he goes into the temple

- 4'-10' The temple personnel⁴⁹⁹
 of the deity Teyapanti bring forward the ornaments
 from the temple of the deity Ĥepat.
 They adorn the deity Teyapanti.
 The SANGA-priest places one thin bread, one vessel of *tallai*- fine oil, one *ĥalwani* of beer-wine in front of
 the deity Teyapanti.

- 11'-14' The SANGA-priest sprinkles the fine oil toward the deity Teyapanti.
 He breaks one thin-bread, and he places it in front of the deity
 Teyapanti.
 He libates with beer-wine.

- 15'-16' Then the SANGA-priest enters in front of the deity.
 Edge of Tablet

⁴⁹⁷ Puhvel, HED 1-2: 460.

⁴⁹⁸ CHD Š: 188^b. Edited by Trémouille (1997) 210.

⁴⁹⁹ LÚ^{MES} ka-ri-ma-na-li-uš.

In this Hurrian ritual, the SANGA-priest's act of sprinkling fine oil towards the deity is an act not attested in the Hattian-Hittite texts. An important aspect of the priestly activity in the ritual, however, is that they eat in front of the deity.

D) Eating and drinking when celebrating the festivals to the deities is well attested in the inventory texts. After bringing the deity to the *huwaši* or inside the temple, the sacrifice is slaughtered, the meat placed before the deity, and the priests sit down to eat (KUB 17.35 i 10', 24' iii 7, 31 iv 12; KUB 25.23 i 31'). In another text KBo 23.67 iii, there is a description of a cultic meal with the cult personnel:⁵⁰⁰

- 6 [nu]^{LÜ} MU TU₇ pit-tal-ua-an IŠ-TU^{DUG} TU₇
 7 ša-ra-a da-a-i na-an PA-NI^{LÜ} SANGA da-a-i
 8 na-aš-ta^{UZU} I ša-ra-a pí-ip-pa-i
 9 na-at-ša-an kat-ta A-NA^{DUG} DILIM.GAL MUŠEN ħa-an-d[a-iz-zi]

 10 nu LÜ^{MEŠ} É ka-ri-im-na-a-li-iš an-da a-ra-an-[ta]
 11 na-at PA-NI DINGIR^{LIM} ar-ħa a-da-an-zi
 12 da-ma-iš-ma Û-UL ku-iš-ki e-iz-za-zi

The cook takes plain stew from the stew pot
 and places it in front of the SANGA-priest
 He throws sheep fat on top (of the stew)
 and arranges it down on a bowl (in the shape of) a bird.

 The temple personnel are standing there
 They are eating (it) in front of the deity
 But, no one else eats.

An important warning is added here that no one aside from the temple personnel identified as LÜ^{MEŠ} É ka-ri-im-na-a-li-iš, "the men of the temple", are allowed to eat in front of the deity.

The only other restriction on the SANGA-priest which I could find is the restriction to approach the offering at the *daḥanga* mentioned in a text related to the cult of Nerik, KBo 2.4, a monthly festival celebrated to the Storm-god of Nerik.⁵⁰¹ In col. iii the instructions to the priests are as follows (iii 1'-7'):

And on the *daḥanga*-(stone) they heap the *ambašši*-offering. They shall burn away the pure meat. The *ambašši*-offering, which they brought

⁵⁰⁰ See CHD P/3: 271^a.

⁵⁰¹ Treated by Haas (1970) 278-292.

from the temple, let them burn it up. But to the *daḥanga* they shall not come close.

KUB 27.68 also describes a festival of the month, but in this case to the Storm-god of Zaḫḫaluqqa. The SANGA-priest summons the deity with the wooden *daḥanga*. There, in a broken context, we may read (on obv. i 18): [^{GIS}ta-ħa-an-ki-ma] an-da-an UL ku-iš-k[i pa-a-iz-zi?] ("[But] inside [the *taḥanka*] no one [shall enter]").

KUB 51.1+, the festival for Telipinu at Kašḫa, describes the priests' preparation of the sacrificial meat as follows (obv. ii 3-5):⁵⁰² "The pure meat⁵⁰³ which was set in front of the altar, the next day the SANGA-priests take and they cook it inside the temple. Then, they put them (i.e., the pieces of meat) back before the deity. They eat (and) they drink. The first day." The raw meat is placed before the deity for one day and only then is it cooked, with part set before the deity and part eaten by the SANGA-priests. Only they are indicated as eating that sacrificial meat. The priests eat the meat inside the temple where it is also cooked.

4.1.6.6 The SANGA-priests described as traveling between places and appearing in processions

The texts describing the different festivals indicate the movements of SANGA-priests from town to town in order to participate in the festivals for the gods on fixed occasions. Evidence comes from the mention of SANGA-priests, by their town of origin, in festivals taking place in Ḫattuša. Such is the case in the KILAM-festival, where we hear of the SANGA-priests of Arinna and Zippalanda (KBo 10.26 i 28-42; KBo 10.28+ v 3-10; KBo 11.38 ii 38-42). In KUB 25.23, we learn of a festival celebrated to the deity of the town Urešta, with the participation of the deity from Ḫakmiš. Lines 26'-33' of column i describe the SANGA-priests celebrating a spring festival, and the next day they carry the deity to Ḫakmiš. This means the SANGA-priests travel at festival times to the places where these are to be celebrated.

In the text of the celebration for Tetešḫapi by the NIN.DINGIR, we witness her travels to Dawiniya and to the forest, while the SANGA-priest of Tetešḫapi accompanies her carrying the deity's statue (4.1.6.4 above p. 187).

The festival for Telipinu in the town of Kašḫa, which was

⁵⁰² Following the edition of Haas and Jakob-Rost (1984) 41.

⁵⁰³ UZU^{UL} su-up-pa^{UL}, the pieces of sacrificial meat.

celebrated every three years,⁵⁰⁴ indicates the participation of other priests in the ceremonies (KUB 53.4 rev. 32'-34'): "On the sixth day they put Telipinu inside the chest and br[ing him to his] place. The SANGA-priests of the lands, the SANGA-priests of the town Atalhaziya, and the SANGA-priests of mount Šakuriya, each goes to his town, and they carry with them their gods."⁵⁰⁵ The SANGA-priests arrive from other towns for specific celebrations, special festivals at fixed times. In these cases, they leave their houses and later return to them. On the house of the SANGA-priest see 4.1.7.2 below p. 209-211.

The SANGA-priests, like other cult functionaries, appear in processions walking towards the temple, accompanying the king, the queen, the crown prince, as well as the NIN.DINGIR. The SANGA-priest may be described as part of a group of cult functionaries who welcome the royal family or walk beside them or behind them during festivals. They may also walk without the participation of royalty. The processions usually include male and female singers, who walk either ahead or behind the royalty and the cult functionaries. Examples may be seen in KBo 21.79 iv 10'-11'; KBo 23.91 i 1-4; KUB 28.99 5'-13'; KBo 30.164 iii 16'-20'; KUB 20.80 iii 14'-20'; KUB 53.17 iii 25'-30'; and KUB 56.35 i 6.

4.1.6.7 Speaking, reciting, singing

The above presentation of the SANGA-priest describes his activity as essentially mute: in none of the activities do we hear him speak or pray. Indeed, cases which depict the SANGA-priest verbalizing something are but a few. He speaks on behalf of the king and his family in prayer during the *hišuwā*-festival (KUB 30.40 iii 2-4), and he addresses the deity during preparations for a ritual in KUB 17.35 iv 6.⁵⁰⁶

The SANGA-priest of the Storm-god of Zaḫḫaluqqa is said to be reciting in Ḫattic (KUB 25.36 v 15-17) in the context of a ritual in which other priests participate along with the king. It seems to me that, in this context, the SANGA-priest is reciting on behalf of the king. "The SANGA-priest of the Storm-god of Zaḫḫaluqqa goes and bows to ZABABA. He holds out his hands while he recites in Ḫattic, and the SANGA-priest of Ḫalipinu steps behind him. When the SANGA-priest of the Storm-god of

⁵⁰⁴ Haas and Jakob-Rost (1984) 15.

⁵⁰⁵ See 4.1.2.3 above p. 147 on SANGA.KUR.KUR.

⁵⁰⁶ Carter (1962) 132, 146.

Zaḫḫaluqqa finishes reciting he bows and goes back to his place."⁵⁰⁷

The SANGA-priest also recites in Ḫurrian in KBo 15.48 iii 11-24 during the *hišuwā*-festival,⁵⁰⁸ and once we hear that SANGA-priests sing in Luwian (in KUB 25.39 i 25-27) where usually professional singers, such as the men called singers, or the *zintuḫi*-women or *ḫazgara*-women, sing.⁵⁰⁹ The SANGA-priest also recites in the ritual for Ištar-Pirinkir, where he speaks in Babylonian.⁵¹⁰

4.1.6.8 Kissing and shaking hands

This activity is attested mainly in KUB 20.88,⁵¹¹ where male and female high priests kiss each other and shake hands at a ceremony. This gesture may be found in a few other texts, such as KUB 34.128 rev. 7'f. (two high SANGA-priestesses). In KUB 44.5 a SANGA-priest of Tazuwaši gives (extends) a hand, while in KUB 41.46 iii 6-9:⁵¹² "When, however, the king is in line with the [SANGA-priests], he takes a step and he bows to the SANGA-priests. The (high?) SANGA-priest, however, gives (extends) a hand to the king." I have understood these gestures as a welcome but it seems they have more meaning than this, which for the time being remains obscure.

4.1.6.9 Dream incubation and oracular inquiries

In 4.1.2.4 above p. 148 we noted the possible derivation of the meaning of the SANGA-priests' title *šuppiš* from their duty to sleep "sacredly" in the temple. When praying to the Storm-god of Ḫatti, pleading for the removal of the plague which caused death in the land, Muṣili II speaks as follows:⁵¹³

[namma-ma] mān tamedazi-ja kuezka uddanaz akkiškitari nat-za-kán naššu tešhit uḡallu našmat arijašešnaz [ḫandaḫ]jattaru našmat ^{L0}DINGIR ^{LM}nianza-ma memau našma A-NA LU^{MES} SANGA kuit ḫūmandaš ūatarnahḫun natšamaš

⁵⁰⁷ For this text, see 4.2.4.4 below pp. 248-249 in regard to the GUDU-priest.

⁵⁰⁸ For bibliography see CHD Š: 188^b.

⁵⁰⁹ See above 4.1.2.1 pp. 142-143 on the list of female singers in HT 2.

⁵¹⁰ On this corpus of texts see Beckman (1999). The other cases where the form *UM-MA* appears as an opening of a speech by a SANGA-priest are in oracle inquiries, where the result starts with: "Thus (said) the SANGA-priest."

⁵¹¹ Edited by Kühne (1999) 90-92. See also 4.1.2.1 p. 143 and 5.1.3 p. 320.

⁵¹² See Popko, *THeth* 21: 172.

⁵¹³ Following Goetze (1929) 218-219.

šuppaja šeškiškanzi nu-mu ^dIM^{URU}Ḫatti EN-IA ḫuišnut

If, on the other hand, people are dying because of some other reasons, either let me see it by dream, or may it be ascertained by oracle, or may it rather be pronounced by a Man of the God, or let all SANGA-priests do what I command them, so that they will sleep sacredly for it. Storm-god of Ḫatti, my Lord, let me live!

Sleeping in a sacredly manner means in a sacred place, that is, the temple, or wherever the divine presence appears.⁵¹⁴

KUB 52.91 ii 3-7 is an oracle report of a SANGA-priest of the deity Zintuḫi who reports of seeing a *šardis* jumping when he slept, which made him wake up.⁵¹⁵ Such dreams are requested as a form of contact with the deity, and therefore the priest sleeps in the temple.

Sleeping in the temple in order to guard it is a primary duty of the SANGA-priest. The above examples indicate that his sleeping there may also be used for incubation, as he is situated in a most favorable position for receiving messages from the divine.

4.1.6.10 The SANGA-priest as an administrator

The instructions in the ITP speak of two main duties of the SANGA-priest as the temple administrator: 1) organizing of the temple watch, and 2) overseeing the delivery of products from farmers and cowherds as supply of the temple's provisions. The texts, however, do not directly inform us of either. The duty of being in charge of a complicated routine of watch is not mentioned in the texts I surveyed. We have seen that the SANGA-priest is instructed to sleep in the temple; together with the exorcist "he shall sleep before the door" (KUB 31.113 16'-17'). Another text (KBo 2.4) says that the temple is closed at night, and the priests open it in the morning with no mention of the person on guard. This may have to do with the size of the temple.⁵¹⁶ A large cult center such as Karaḫna, which had several temples and 775 employees, must

⁵¹⁴ Mouton (2004) wrote on the idea of incubation dreams in the Hittite texts, and she tries to distinguish between public and private incubation. The question still left is, when is a priest's incubation regarded public, and when private? I am not sure whether the king's incubation should be considered private.

⁵¹⁵ According to CHD Š: 190^b.

⁵¹⁶ Such as the case of the text from Nerik KBo 2.4 (p. 180), which may refer to a small temple. On the other hand, we learn from an oracle text that the temple receives a guard detail from the district ruler; see 4.3.2 pp. 287-288.

have had a complicated system of guarding the sacred precinct.

As for the administration of temple supplies, we do find in the texts references to the amounts of animals, food, clothes, implements, and ornaments given to the priests, with instructions for their use during the festivals. Animals for the festivals are transferred by the central cult authorities, as seen in the festival for Telipinu at Kašḫa and Ḫanḫana, and in the quoted text of Tudḫaliya IV regarding the sacrifice for the gods of Tarḫuntašša being supplied from the palace (3.9.4.1 p. 115). From the oracle texts we learn of what was delivered to a temple by different sources, all under the supervision of the Temple-Men, who will be shown to be related to the priesthood in 4.3 below pp. 279-311.

The Karaḫna inventory text, besides indicating the four SANGA-priests installed at the new temples, does not indicate the nature of their duties. The information we receive about the SANGA-priest is mainly concerned with the "house of the SANGA-priest" as an important cult institution, beside the temple itself. This issue will be discussed in the next paragraphs.

4.1.7 The SANGA-priests' status

The SANGA-priest, as we have seen in Chapter 2, always appears first in the lists of cult functionaries. His higher position is evident in rituals performed together with royalty, as well as among his fellow priests.

4.1.7.1 The SANGA-priest as a state functionary

The priesthood in our Hittite texts is part of the state cult. Though the priests may be identified by town of origin, all priests and temples are administrated by the king, and in that sense they are part of the state cult. The commands to the border garrison to supervise the cult personnel in a town are part of the state system of managing the cult personnel (2.3 above p. 11). The priests' special function in the religious realm awards them with different privileges, and places upon them duties which turn the "house of the priest" into an institution supporting the cult.

A) The privileges of the SANGA-priests are granted by the king, and may undergo changes. Those acquainted with the Hittite laws are aware of law §50 (KBo 6.2 ii 58-62⁵¹⁷), the priests'

⁵¹⁷ Hoffner (1997b) 61.

exemption from taxation: "The ...[man] who is in charge(?) in Nerik, he who is a SANGA-priest in Arinna or in Zippalanda, in all the towns their houses are free (i.e. exempted), but their associates render the *luzzi*-services. In Arinna, when the eleventh month arrives, [the house of he] at whose gate an *eya* (tree or pole) is seen⁵¹⁸ (is) e[xempted/ likewise]."

The exemption from *luzzi*-servitude (KBo 6.2)⁵¹⁹ for the priests themselves, as well as their houses (i.e. their immediate families), applies only to the three main old cult centers, Nerik, Arinna, and Zippalanda. It does not cover other towns of the kingdom, such as the most obvious one, Ḫattuša. It is not likely that the SANGA-priests of Ḫattuša carried out the *luzzi*-servitude. The reason may be that this law is specific to these towns and does not apply to other major cult centers. Indeed, Popko identified Ḫattuša among the holy towns.⁵²⁰ He also mentioned that in the later period of the Hittite empire, Tarḫuntašša also assumed this position according to the treaty between Tudḫaliya IV and Kurunta.⁵²¹

The following lines of this legal text (KBo 6.2) dealing with the priesthood have to do with a revision of a law involving the case of a weaver in Arinna. Previously, the weaver and his entire family and relatives were exempted, but now only the weaver is exempted. The law then refers to Zippalanda as well, showing how casual the inclusion of cases in this collection of laws was. The law on the priests may have been an older custom related to the ancient cult centers, since KBo 6.2 is an OH text perhaps even earlier than the development of Ḫattuša into a large cult center, which happened during the Middle and New Kingdoms. I would assume that other priests in other cult centers enjoyed the same privileges.⁵²² One may even suppose that the priesthood of the capital was automatically exempted from any tax.

Another point to be raised in this context is the fact that only a SANGA-priest is mentioned. This may support the possibility that the title of the SANGA-priest was generally applied to other priests as well.

⁵¹⁸ See the treatment of Hoffner (1997b) 192.

⁵¹⁹ The *luzzi*-servitude is a state corvée, from which temples and their workers were exempted since the early days of the Hittite Kingdom. See the examples in *CHD* L: 90^b c'.

⁵²⁰ Popko, *Religions*: 144.

⁵²¹ Popko, *Religions*: 143.

⁵²² As suggested by the paragraphs quoted in the *CHD* L: 90^b c'.

According to Puhvel, the *eya* tree "was a symbol of lastingness and a planted marker of tax-exemption. It also figures ritually as conducive to freedom from disease and as having hung on it a sheep-skin." Puhvel identifies the tree with the yew.⁵²³ The *eya* tree appears in relation to Telipinu and in connection with the cult in the festival for Telipinu; the context could identify it as either a pole or a tree. In KUB 53.4 (with duplicates) obv. i 8'-10', we read:⁵²⁴ "When, however, they (finish) loading, they bring it (i.e. the *eya* tree from the mountain) over to the town of Kašḫa. Then the older *eya* tree they take up (i.e. uproot/pull out) and the SANGA-priest of Telipinu [...] but the new *eya* tree he sets next to the *ḫuwaši*-stone. By the hearth of the image of Telipinu they speak (recite?/make a vow?)." The *eya* tree is said to be brought from the mountain. The SANGA-priest of Telipinu, at the temple of Telipinu in Kašḫa, pulls out the old pole or tree, and sets up a new one. As the god of vegetation it may be simple to connect Telipinu with this tree; the *eya* tree then may mark a cultic place/house, in which case a SANGA-house is regarded a cultic place. (On this interpretation of the SANGA-priest's house, see below p. 209).

B) Privileges by the king can be seen in land grants donated to favored servants. An interesting land grant to a SANGA-priest from Kizzuwatna is known from KUB 40.2. Relations with the land of Kizzuwatna are known already from the time of Telipinu of the Middle Kingdom.⁵²⁵ The treaties between this new kingdom, Kizzuwatna, and Ḫatti continue with Telipinu's successor Ḫantili,⁵²⁶ and later, after a period of alliance between Kizzuwatna and Mittani, this area reverts to the Hittite domain with the appointment of prince Telipinu as its SANGA-priest by Šuppiluliuma I.⁵²⁷

KUB 40.2 is a land grant involving areas in Kizzuwatna given to a king of this region named Talzu, a predecessor of Šunaššura, the king of Kizzuwatna who became a vassal of either Tudḫaliya I/II or Šuppiluliuma I.⁵²⁸ Since Šunaššura is mentioned on the rev. 15-16 as confirming the land grant made by the Hittite king, this land grant is also like a royal decree regarding the cult

⁵²³ Puhvel, *HED* 1-2: 253-256.

⁵²⁴ Following Haas and Jakob-Rost (1984) 73.

⁵²⁵ Klengel (1999) 101-103.

⁵²⁶ Bryce (1998) 121-122.

⁵²⁷ KUB 19.25+26.

⁵²⁸ Bryce (1998) 151; Beal (1986) 424-445.

of Išhara, and especially the three deities mentioned on the rev. 10: Muwanuš, Muwatalli, and the Fire-god. The decree relies on an old tablet from king Talzu already mentioned above (rev. 9). The Hittite king restores an earlier disposition of the cult.⁵²⁹

- 8 ki-i-ma URU^{DIDL.HIA} an-na-al-li-uš [ŠA^{MUNUS}E-EN-TI ŠA^{LÚ}SANGA]
 9 na-at-ša-an ŠA^MTa-al-zu-ú TUP-PI ú-e-mi-ja-[nu-un nu ki-i
 URU^{DIDL.HIA}]
 10 A-NA^d Mu-u-ua-nu^d Mu-ua-at-ta-al-li^d IZI-z[i na-at A-NA^{MUNUS}E-EN-TI]
 11 Û A-NA^{LÚ}SANGA EGIR-pa AD-DIN nam-ma DINGIR^{MES}
 hu-u-m[a-an-te-eš^{LÚ}SANGA^{MES}]
 12 ARAD^{MES} DINGIR^{LIM}-ja a-ra-u-ua-aḫ-hu-un pa-ra-a
 tar-nu-u[m-ma-aš-ma-aš
 13 ki-nu-na-as-ša QA-TAM-MA-pát I-NA x[

These towns, of ancient time [(belonged) to the *ENTU*-priestess (and) the SANGA-priest].

It was written on a tablet of (king) Talzu. [These towns] (belong) to (the deities) ^dMuwanuš, ^dMuwatalli (and) the Fire-[god. This, to the *ENTU*-priestess] and the SANGA-priest, I give back. Further, al[ⁱ] the deities [and the SANGA-priests⁵³⁰], and the servants of the deity I exempted. [I gave them?] freedom.

Now, too, just in this way, to[

The next passages having to do with the cult include the amounts of *arkamman*- (“tribute”)⁵³¹ made every third year, mandated by the king for the deity and its leading cult functionaries: the *entu*-priestess and the SANGA-priest. The use of the word *arkamman*- may indicate something about the relationship with the other party to this document, for on the one hand it looks like a grant decreed by the Hittite king, and yet it is within a territory under the supervision of the king of Kizzuwatna. The king of Kizzuwatna, then, is responsible for keeping the rights of this cult. The “tribute” paid to the cult every third year is to be distributed as follows:

a) Lines 19-24 deal with the temple itself in regard to garments and vessels of bronze and copper for drinking. Olive oil, fine oil, fine clothes, and a bed are for the deity Išhara.

b) Lines 25-30 deal with the *ENTU*-priestess, who receives one bronze vessel, one copper vessel, ten bronze cups, and a silver cup

⁵²⁹ The text presented here follows the restorations of Goetze (1940) 65.

⁵³⁰ Another possible restoration is “their temples”.

⁵³¹ For *arkamman*- see Puhvel, *HED* 1-2: 143f.

for drinking; from the palace she is to receive a wooden bed, a garment, a *ḥaššiyalli*, another silver cup, and few more items missing in the broken lines.⁵³²

c) The SANGA-priest is to receive from the chief merchant some garments, a bronze cup, and a copper vessel (the rest is broken); from another source (perhaps also from the palace, as in the case of the *ENTU*), he receives some vessels of gold and some fine garments. The rest of the tablet, unfortunately, is broken, but it can be compared with the oracle text IBoT 2.129= KUB 16.35 + 898/v (+) KBo 22.139.⁵³³

- 16 Regarding the merchant, as well, (who) to the deity one garment *alaluša*
 one golden ZI, one leather,
 17 one golden metal object, (and) three leathers used to supply, now,
 however,
 18 they took him away for the palace attendants That, therefore, they
 ceased (to deliver).

On the last lines of the Kizzuwatna's grant there is a prohibition against in any way harming the SANGA-priest or the *ENTU*, and whoever does so will have to pay a fine. The verb used for “harming” is GUL-aḫ-zi - *ḡalaḫzi*- (“attacks, hits, fights”). The priests at the head of the cult for Išhara are protected by the king.

This text shows great involvement of the Hittite king, with the support of the Kizzuwatnean king, in the cult of this land. Though the Hittite king gives back to the temples and the priesthood their rights of old days, the act represents the direct involvement of the ruler from Ḫattuša in cult regulations of the Kizzuwatnean kingdom. On this basis Goetze concludes that “the territory in question was so firmly in the hand of the Hittite king as to enable him to dispose of it freely in favor of a temple.” He then goes on to suggest a date for this deed from the time of Šuppiluliuma I.⁵³⁴

Such cult regulations imposed on a vassal may be compared with the paragraphs of the cult regulations in the treaty concluded between Tudḫaliya IV and Kurunta. These regulations, already

⁵³² Note here the similarities with the material given to the NIN.DINGIR of Emar, especially the receiving of the bed along with implements for her dress and food. The NIN.DINGIR of Emar is entitled to an annual allotment for her living expenses as well as her cultic performance. Fleming (1992) 58-59, the text is Emar 369, lines 85-90; see also *ibid*, pp. 85-149.

⁵³³ Berman (1982) 95, (see 4.3.2 below p. 286).

⁵³⁴ Goetze (1940) 70.

determined by Hattušili III, are continued with some changes by Tudhaliya. However, the relationship between the king of Tarhuntašša (Kurunta) and the Hittite ruler of Hattuša may be on the same level as the Kizzuwatnean vassal in regard to cult regulations.

C) Another instance of privileges granted to cult personnel according to a royal decree is an interesting case of tax exemption for the ^{LÚ}HAL of Emar by the Hittite king. Though the text speaks of the ^{LÚ}HAL and not ^{LÚ}SANGA, according to Fleming's study, the ^{LÚ}HAL of the gods of Emar was the head of the cult in that town.⁵³⁵ We learn about the plea of the ^{LÚ}HAL of Emar, named Zū-Ba'ala, from two letters, one addressed to the king of Carchemiš from the Hittite king, and the other directly to Alziyamuwa, the Hittite official in Emar. In both letters Alziyamuwa is ordered, according to the decision of the Hittite king, to give back the land to the ^{LÚ}HAL and to exempt him from the service obligations of *šahhan* and *luzzi*.⁵³⁶ These letters are evidence of the direct involvement of the Hittite king in religious affairs in vassal states, as seen above regarding Kizzuwatna.

D) A royal decree for the establishment of cult for a deity is attached to the mythological account of the *purulli*-festival. This text elevates the goddess Zašhapuna and her circle, and establishes for her a cult in Tanipiya (CTH 321⁵³⁷). Following a lot-casting procedure, the three deities, referred to as the three persons (priests holding the deities), are granted a field, a garden, a house with a threshing floor, and three buildings for the household personnel: 3 É^{HI.A} SAG.GÉME.ARA[D^{MEŠ}]. In total there are three houses for the three priests and their households, and a building for a temple. The field, garden, and threshing floor are for supplying the temple's needs. This picture of establishing a cult center opens our discussion on the house of the SANGA-priest.

⁵³⁵ Fleming (1992) 87-92: "The diviner (^{LÚ}HAL) is a cultic official with a wide range of responsibilities and high social standing in Emar society".

⁵³⁶ For the historical context see Beckman (1992) 44-45. The letters were published in Laroche (1982) 54. The second letter to Alziyamuwa was first introduced by Singer in the 44th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale 1997 and was recently published again (2000) 78-80 (Pl. LXXIII).

⁵³⁷ For the edition of this text see Beckman (1982) 11-25.

4.1.7.2 The house of the SANGA-priest: A cult institution

The description of the priesthood in the ITP, and in the texts from Nerik (4.1.6.2 above p. 179), portrays the priests as coming to the temple in the morning and leaving in the evening after closing down the temple. They are to go to their houses for the night, unless it is their turn to stay as guards. The picture received from CTH 321 (4.1.7.1 above p. 208) seems to apply to all temples around the Hittite kingdom. The priests have houses with families, servants and food supplies. This may be seen in the repetitive formula in texts ordering the SANGA-priest to supply provisions for the cult at the cost of his house:

A) KUB 12.4 iv 2-5

2 ma-a-an A-NA dZA.BA₄.BA₄ ^{LÚ}SANGA ŠU.GI
3 EZEN₄ zé-e-na-an-da-aš IŠ-TU É-ŠU i-ja-zi
4 nu-za kiš-an ha-an-da-iz-zi
5 3 UDU 1 PA ZÌ.DA DUR₅ 2 PA ZÌ.DA HÁD.DU.A 4 DUG.KA.GAG.A

When the old SANGA-priest to the deity ZABABA celebrates from his house the fall festival, He shall arrange as follows: three sheep, one *parisu* of moist flour, two *parisu* of dry flour, and four vessels of beer.

B) KBo 22.246 (festivals celebrated to the Storm-god of Ḫalap), rev. iii

9' 12 GU₄ SU-SI UDU LÚ^{MEŠ} NA.GAD IŠ-TU ÍÉ[
10' 1 UDU 2 BÁN ZÌ.DA 2 DUG.KAŠ ^{LÚ}SANGA EN[TU ?-ja]
11' pé-iš-kán-z[i]

12' 4 UDU 5 BÁN 2 UP-NU ZÌ.DA 4 DUG.KAŠ šu-up-[pí-eš]
13' IŠ-TU É-ŠU pé-eš-ki-iz-zi

Twelve oxen (and) sixty sheep, the shepherds from the palace provide]

One sheep, two measures of flour, two vessels of beer, the SANGA-priest [and the] EN[TU-priestess] provi[de]

Four sheep, five measure (and) two *upni* of flour, four vessels of pu[re] beer he keeps providing from his house.

C) Similarly, KUB 25.24 obv. 10, rev. 12'-13', and KUB 25.25

obv. 12'-14'⁵³⁸

[Barley po]rridge, one *ḥanešša*-vessel of beer, of the king's palace, they set on the altar. [The cups] they fill. One measure of flour, one vessel of beer the SANGA-priest [provides] from his house.

Together with the palace, which provides for the festivals, the priests are to provide from their own houses. Their houses function as institutions in charge of cult supply. There is indeed a difference in the amounts provided by the priests and the palace respectively.⁵³⁹

D) KUB 55.21 obv. i 3'-8'⁵⁴⁰

3' [ma-a-a]n-ma ^{LU}SANGA I-NA É-ŠU
 4' [a]r-ḥa a-ri nu-kán ^{LU}SANGA ŠĀ É-ŠU
 5' 1 UDU A-NA ^{du}U ^{URU}Zi-pa-la-an-da
 6' ták-na-aš-ša ^{du}UTU-i ši-pa-an-ti
 7' 1 UDU-ma-kán A-NA DINGIR^{MES} É-ŠU
 8' ši-pa-an-ti

If, however, the SANGA-priest is away at his house, the SANGA-priest inside his house, will offer one sheep to the Storm-god of Zippalanda and to the Sun-goddess of Earth. One sheep however, he will offer to the gods of his house.

This text illuminates the SANGA-priests' living situation. When he is away, that is, not at the temple but in his house, he is still required to celebrate to the Storm-god of Zippalanda and the Sun-goddess of the Earth. This would seem to imply that the SANGA-priest has some images of the deities to worship at home, a supposition supported by two texts: KUB 38.10, an inventory text specifying the deities (images) and their utensils held in houses of SANGA-priests (4.1.6.4 p. 189); and another text of legal protocols, KUB 38.37,⁵⁴¹ where the priests testify to possessing cult utensils (rev. iii 8'-12'):

Thus (said) Ḫutarli the SANGA-priest: 'to [my] father there was a (statue) of the Sun-goddess of Arinna (in the form) of a disc of gold, and a (statue) of the goddess Mezzulla (in the form) of a disc of

⁵³⁸ Haas (1970) 248.

⁵³⁹ For more on the responsibility for providing to the cult in texts of cult inventories, see Hazenbos (2003) 204.

⁵⁴⁰ Popko, *THeth* 21: 280. He proposes the following text constitution: A. KUB 57.29 B. KUB 55.21: obv. i = A. rev. iii 6' f.

⁵⁴¹ Treated by Werner, *StBoT* 4: 56-57.

silver. He worshiped (them) in the temple. Now, however, I worship (them) in my house'.

The SANGA-priest, while celebrating at his house the cult deities with which he is affiliated, must also separately celebrate the gods of his house. Thus, the houses of the SANGA-priests in these cases function as cult institutions, either for ritual activities within their houses, or for their duty to supply the temple rituals.⁵⁴²

Any wrong use of the supply is punished, as indicated in the oracle text KBo 14.21, where the punishment is the payment of a fine (4.1.6.2 above p. 182).

4.1.7.3 Receiving clothing and animals for the festival

The SANGA-priest, like other cult functionaries a part of the state cult, receives allocations from the central administration for use during the festivals. This is seen both in the KILAM-festival in the ration lists,⁵⁴³ and in the Telipinu-festival at Ḫanḫana and Kašḫa. The allocations include animals for sacrifice as well as clothing.

Starting with the Telipinu festival, Haas and Jakob-Rost presented it clearly in their study of the texts of this festival.⁵⁴⁴ The total number of animals for the festival is fifty oxen and one thousand sheep, to be transferred from Ankuwa to Kašḫa, while other supplies are under the supervision of the governor of Ḫanḫana. The text indicates the allocation of the animals as follows (KUB 9.3 iv 8-12):

On the third day they slaughter for the deity Telipinu, another twelve oxen and three hundred sheep. This (while) alive they divide (into) five oxen and one hundred fifty sheep, which the SANGA-priests of the town of Kašḫa take. This, on a third year, they hold for the festivals of Telipinu, for the course of the year to the monthly festival as well.

⁵⁴² Can we compare the house of the SANGA-priest, a residence as well as a cultic place, with the *ḫalentuwa*, which has been a topic of debate as to whether it was a residence or a temple? It does belong to the palace, and as Puhvel correctly notes, it exists in different towns; but it serves the king and the queen for cult activity, such as the great assembly which takes place there according to several texts. Another interesting ritual is held there in KUB 25.14: the queen's celebration of the Sun-goddess of Arinna by invoking the names of the previous queens. For Puhvel's summary of *ḫalent(i)u-* see *HED* 3: 15-19.

⁵⁴³ Singer, *StBoT* 27: 157-167 with the chart indicating the recipients on pp. 168-169.

⁵⁴⁴ Haas and Jakob-Rost (1984) 17.

The priests' allocations extend over a long term. As seen in the previous paragraph, the SANGA-priest delivers animals for sacrifice in the temple.⁵⁴⁵ Thus, on the one hand the SANGA-priests receive allocations from the central government, but on the other they have their own household from which they provide for the rituals, and which allows them some wealth.

About the allocation of clothing we learn from several texts, mainly from the KILAM-festival in KBo 25.176 rev. 4': "To three SANGA-priests [they give] first-rank vestment". Line 8' says: "To the SANGA-priest (of Zippalanda) they give one first-rank vestment".⁵⁴⁶

Also, in KBo 9.132 iv' (festival with *hazgara*-women) three SANGA-priests and three SANGA-priestesses receive garments. For the text see 5.1.3 p. 326 below. And in KUB 40.2 rev. 31-31, we find reports on the supply of a merchant to a temple's SANGA-priest (see above 4.1.7.1 p. 206). Another festival, which describes allocation to cult functionaries among whom are twelve SANGA-priests, is KUB 53.17+ KUB 60.41 ii 5'.⁵⁴⁷

4.1.7.4 The SANGA-priest's rank among other priests

The texts mentioning the SANGA-priest in addition to other priests count the SANGA-priest first. Most evident is KBo 25.167 rev. 4'-17', where the SANGA-priests of Arinna and Zippalanda are counted first in their town's list of functionaries, and they are also the ones to receive the first-rank clothing. After them come the GUDU-priest in Arinna, and the *tazzelli*-man and the *hamena*-man in Zippalanda. From the fact that the priests of Arinna are mentioned before those of Zippalanda (as is also the case in KBo 21.52+ 13'-21'), we learn that the town of Arinna is of greater importance than Zippalanda.⁵⁴⁸ In the ANTAḤŠUM-festival (KUB 25.1 i 22-26), the scepter-bearer seats the following participants: a sacred SANGA-priest, a Lord of Ḫatti, and the AMA.DINGIR-priestess of the deity Ḫalki. In the procession of KUB 28.99 8'-9', the SANGA-priests go behind the king, and next to them are the bodyguards. In a procession welcoming the crown prince in Kaštama (KBo 21.79 iv 10'), the SANGA-priests are mentioned first, then the

⁵⁴⁵ Another example may be seen on KBo 23.92 rev. 9'-18'', which Singer doubted belongs to the KILAM-festival, *StBoT* 27: 30.

⁵⁴⁶ See also KUB 10.13 iii 4-8.

⁵⁴⁷ For the texts see Popko (1992) 470-471.

⁵⁴⁸ See also KBo 10.26 i 32-34. Singer, *StBoT* 28: 42-43.

AMA.DINGIR-priestesses.

In a ritual description of a text relating to the deity ^{KUŠ}Kurša, the SANGA-priest is the first to prostrate to the god. The text is KBo 30.155 obv' i 10'-16'.⁵⁴⁹

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

 12' ^{LÚ}ḫa-me-na A-NA ^{LÚ}SANGA IGI^{ḪA}-it
 13' i-ia-zi ^{LÚ}SANG[A] ^{LÚ}ta-az-zi-li
 14' ^{UŠ-GI-EN-NU} EGI[R-a]n ^{LÚ}ḫa-me-na-aš
 15' ^{LÚ}GUDU₁₂ ^{LÚ}UMMEDA A-NA DINGIR^{LIM}
 16' ^{UŠ-KI-EN-NU}

Some signs and then it is broken

The man of the Storm-god and the woman of the Storm-god deliver a message. The *palwattalla*-woman cries out.

 The *hamena*-man makes/signals with the eyes to the SANGA-priest. The SANGA-priest (and) the *tazzilli*-man prostrate (to the deity). Afterwards the *hamena*-man, the GUDU-priest (and) the UMMEDA-man prostrate to the deity.

A certain hierarchy can be noticed in the prostration of the cult personnel. First are the SANGA-priest and the *tazzelli*-man, then come the *hamena*-man, the GUDU-priest (and) the UMMEDA-man, who prostrate all together. The SANGA-priest, then, is a priest of the first rank. In a text of the festivals for the Storm-god of Ḫalap (KBo 22.246 iii 9'-11'), the SANGA-priest is counted first before the *ENTU*-priestess. In KBo 30.164⁵⁵⁰ iv 2'-5' the functionaries are seated as follows:

2' [x LÚ]^{MES} SANGA 1 ^{MUNUS}SANGA ^{dM}[i-iz-zu-ul-la
 3' [LÚ/MUNUS]^{MES} SANGA AR-KU-TIM 1 LÚ 1 ^{MUNUS}ar-za-na-la-aš
 4' [MUNUS]^{MES} zi->in«-en-tu-ḫi-e-eš ḫu-u-ma-an-te-eš
 5' [LÚ]^{MES} GUDU₁₂ a-ša-an-zi

[Three⁵⁵¹] SANGA-priests one SANGA-priestess of the deity

⁵⁴⁹ See Popko for the incorporating of this text under CTH 599, *THeth* 21: 304; 310.

⁵⁵⁰ For this text (KBo 30.164+KUB 44.13), see now Popko (2001) 328.

⁵⁵¹ For this number see KBo 30.164 iii 16', where also one SANGA-priestess and two GUDU-priests are mentioned.

M[izzulla The second-ranking⁵⁵² SANGA-priests/esses, one man (and) one woman of the *arzana* (-house); all the *zintuḫi*-women (and) the GUDU-priests sit down.

There is also a text which counts two MUNUS^{MES} SANGA and three LÚ^{MES} SANGA (KBo 23.91+⁵⁵³), however. KBo 11.46 describes the priests as follows: “The SANGA-priest of the Storm-god of Ḫalap, the AMA.DINGIR-priestess of the deity Ḫalki, the *ummiyanu*-men, the SANGA-priest of LAMMA, the SANGA-priest of the deity A[”.

In IBoT 1.29 obv. 54-58, the SANGA-priests sit down to eat in front of the crown prince. The SANGA-priests are first to receive bread; then the prince, a *tazzelli*-man, a [GUDU-priest?], a *šiwanzanna*-priestess and a *ḫa[mena]*-man are served in this order.

Among the SANGA-priests themselves we find a probable hierarchy according to the way they are listed. KUB 25.9 ii 6'-10' describes the scepter-bearer seating the sacred SANGA-priests and then they are listed: “The SANGA-priest of the Storm-god, the SANGA-priest of the deity LAMMA, the SANGA-priest of the deity ZABABA, and the SANGA-priest of the deity Lelwani.” Returning to IBoT 1.29 i 18-25, twelve SANGA-priests are listed in this order:

LÚSANGA dIM	Storm-god
LÚ dU	the Man of the Storm-god
LÚ SAN[GA dḪa-]taḫ-ga-aš	Ḫataḫga
LÚ SANGA Ḫal-ki-aš	Ḫalki
LÚ SANGA dZA.BA ₄ .BA ₄	ZABABA
LÚ SANGA dTa-a[(š-me-šu ⁵⁵⁴)	Tašmešu
LÚ SANGA x]-x-aš	-----
LÚ SANGA dḪal-ma-aš-šu-i-it-ti	Ḫalmašuiitti
2 LÚ SANGA dAn-zi-li	Anzili
[LÚ SANGA]-x-x	-----
LÚ SANGA dḪa-ša-am-mi-li	Ḫašammili

We may conclude here that the SANGA-priest of the Storm-god is first in these lists. This should be compared with our findings on the deities with whom the SANGA-priest is affiliated (4.1.3 pp. 164-166 above), where the Tutelary Deity and the Storm-god were at the top of the list.

⁵⁵² Akkadian *arkûm* (w)arkûm (“rear, hindmost; second-rank, lesser”) see CDA: 434.

⁵⁵³ See Popko (2001) 327 n.2 (KBo 23.91+16.82+34.15).

⁵⁵⁴ B: obv. 24. See also van Gessel, *Onomasticon*: 459.

4.1.7.5 The household of the SANGA-priest

In 4.1.7.2 (above p. 209) we described the house of the SANGA-priest as a cult institution. It was probably a relatively expensive house, a conclusion which can be drawn from the reports on SANGA-priests houses in KUB 42.100. This inventory text is from the time of Tudḫaliya IV, and was most recently treated by Hazenbos.⁵⁵⁵ The text describes the cult of six deities at the town of Nerik, where each deity has its own temple with a SANGA-priest, and each priest is assisted by his household members.

As to the first deity, the Storm-god of Zaḫḫaluqqa⁵⁵⁶ has a SANGA-priest who provides for the fall and spring festivals from his house, as well as a GUDU-priest who serves this deity with him (col. i 15'). The next deity is ZABABA, who is served by: “The SANGA-priest Tiwataziti. Seven men. Two boys [] Total of seventeen heads (i.e. persons); in addition to them, the SA[NGA-priest] a court purifier, one (man?) of the ‘weapon’, and his singer [] One temple of ZABABA of the (town of) N[erik.” (col. iii 9'-12')

Regarding the temple of the Storm-god of Heaven, the cult personnel are as follows: “The SANGA-priest Lupakki. Four me[n] [heads] [one temple] of the Storm-god of Heaven, one[” (col. iii 39'-40'). As for the temple of the two deities Telipinu and dLAMMA, the following is said: “The SANGA-priest Gallili. One male, one female, one boy and one girl four heads (i.e. persons) servants of Telipinu. One temple of the deity LAMMA and the god Telipinu.” (col. iv 30'-32)

The SANGA-priest whose name is Gallili is responsible for the celebrations of two deities, dLAMMA and dTelipinu, who share the same temple. The SANGA-priest of the Storm-god of Zaḫḫaluqqa also has a GUDU-priest with him, a fact not mentioned for the other deities.

A) The SANGA-priest could be a married person. The texts mention the wives of SANGA-priests in KBo 20.1 ii 5, and in KBo 23.106 rev. 14 (4.1.6.3 above p. 185).⁵⁵⁷

On the question of the children of the SANGA-priest, we

⁵⁵⁵ Hazenbos (2003) 16-24.

⁵⁵⁶ Hazenbos (2003) 14.

⁵⁵⁷ See also KUB 16.34 i 19-23 which tells a story of the wives of the Temple-Men, and which probably refers to the SANGA-priests as well (4.3.2 below pp. 294-295).

encountered a difficulty in deciding whether the Sumerograms DUMU and DUMU.MUNUS stand for a child or for an indication of a junior SANGA-priest, a question left undecided by the *CHD* Š: 185^b, 195^b.⁵⁵⁸ The above descriptions of the priest's household supports the probability of a hereditary priesthood; therefore, the DUMU can be considered a son and the DUMU.MUNUS a daughter of the priest or priestess.

A son of a SANGA-priest/ess appears, for example, in KBo 10.36 rev. 9,⁵⁵⁹ KBo 25.109 iii 17-18, KBo 31.4 vi 31-33, and KBo 24.85 i 6, the latter of which reads: nu ^dHal-ki-ia-aš DUMU ^{MUNUS}SANG[A ("The son of a female SANGA-priestess of the deity Halki" or "The daughter of the priest of the deity Halki").⁵⁶⁰ We also see once a mention of a daughter of a SANGA-priest in KBo 2.31 ii 11': ^{MUNUS}hur-ma-ya-na-at-ti-iš DUMU.MUNUS[^{LÚ}SANGA)] ("Hurmananatti, the daughter of the SANGA-priest").⁵⁶¹ This is a list of singers in a county, and the daughter of the priest is one of those professional singers.

B) The priest had his own servants, such as the cupbearers mentioned in the KILAM-festival texts KBo 10.26 i 32-42 and KBo 11.38 ii 38-42. The servants of the SANGA-priests of Arinna come up in KBo 11.36 v 13-15 regarding a question of allocating bread.⁵⁶² Another mention is of a servant of a junior(?) SANGA-priest of the town of Urešta in HKM 57: 10-13, 18-22 (ARAD ^{LÚ}DUMU.SANGA).⁵⁶³

The house of the SANGA-priest was in some cases a wealthy and honored house. Such must have been the house of ^mPentipšarri from Lawazantiya, the father of Puduḥepa, wife of king Hattušili III (KBo 3.6 ii 60, vi 29). As the daughter of a priest Puduḥepa

⁵⁵⁸ There seems to be a difference between ^{LÚ}DUMU.SANGA ("a junior(?) priest") and DUMU ^{LÚ}SANGA ("a son of a priest"), although the latter might be a junior priest too. See *CHD* Š1: 184-185.

⁵⁵⁹ Taracha (2000) 148-149, with note 75, suggests reading here "(königlicher) Sohn, der Priester".

⁵⁶⁰ Compare also with the NIN.DINGIR ritual KUB 11.32 ii 25: [nu NIN.DINGIR DUMU ^{MUNUS}AMA.DINGIR^{LJM}-ia ("The NIN.DINGIR and a child/son of a šiwanzanna-priestess.") In both cases it can of course be "a novice priestess / šiwanzanna-priestess"; see *CHD* Š1: 195^b.

⁵⁶¹ With HT 2.

⁵⁶² Singer suggested that the text belongs to the KILAM-festival for its mention of the men of ^dHešta; Singer, *StBoT* 27: 26.

⁵⁶³ See *CHD* Š1: 184^b.

was a priestess herself, and continued in this role when she was queen.

4.1.8 Installation of a SANGA-priest

The installation of a SANGA-priest occurs for two basic reasons: either a younger priest is introduced to the office, or a new temple is built and a SANGA-priest is instituted to serve a deity, or several deities, at that temple. In this second case the priest must not be a young one with no experience, but rather, an officiating priest who is transferred from another temple.

A) The Hittite texts use the Sumerograms ^{LÚ}SANGA GIBIL to indicate a "new SANGA-priest". These Sumerograms appear in a limited number of texts, of which three may shed light on the meaning of the "new priest": KUB 17.35, KUB 44.21, and KUB 60.152. The Sumerogram GIBIL, indicating the Hittite adjective *nēwa-* ("new, fresh")⁵⁶⁴ is used to describe anything new that is related to the cult and appears in a ritual context, such as the food products, the new deities, and also the priest.

Of the texts just listed, two mention the "new SANGA-priest" going through a ceremony of initiation as a priest. The third seems to reflect his activities related to his installation.

B) A most illuminating text on the process of the installation rite is KUB 17.35 i 17'-37', which describes a festival named EZEN₄ *pulaš*, "festival of the lot". The text was first treated by Carter in his dissertation on the cult inventories.⁵⁶⁵ Another treatment of part of the text was given by Kellerman in an article investigating the *Illuyanka*-myth as part of the *purulli*-festival.⁵⁶⁶ This festival was recognized by both scholars as dealing with a selection of a "new priest". I have tried to show elsewhere that in comparison with an installation rite of the NIN.DINGIR of Emar, this text describes the rite associated with the new SANGA-priest's installation.⁵⁶⁷ What follows is the translation of the text, with my restorations and some comments.

⁵⁶⁴ See the *CHD* N: 455-458, for a wider survey of the lemma *nēwa-*.

⁵⁶⁵ Carter (1962) 123-153.

⁵⁶⁶ Kellerman (1981) 35-46.

⁵⁶⁷ See my treatment of this text (2002a) 127-159, which includes both a transliteration and a translation. For reasons of continuity the translation of the texts with comments is presented here.

KUB 17.35 i 17'-37':

[When] they celebrate [to the Storm-god the festival of the lo]t, they wash; the SANGA-priest washes himself (and) he washes the god.

[] seated they cast lots; and (the one) for whom the lot jumps (out), he brings [it aw]ay [into the temple], and he places it on the altar.

[]⁵⁶⁸...one sheep for the Storm-god, one sheep for the "Seven Gods."⁵⁶⁹ he offers; (and) they slaughter at the altar. [].. two *SUTU* of flour

one *huppar*-vessel of beer; he breaks thick bread at the altar; the rhyton [he fill]s; one *PARISU* of flour, four vessels of beer,(and) one *huppar*-vessel is provided (for the ritual); they eat (and) they drink. [They pro]vide [goblets] for (the ritual); The first goblets (are) arranged; They adorn the new SANGA-priest and one sheep [with fruit]. [They dr]ive the decorated sheep to the temple of the old SANGA-priest. The new SANGA-priest and the *hazqara*-women walk behind the sheep. They lead three times [to the temp]le of the old SANGA-priest, and on the third time the new SANGA-priest sits down [in front of⁵⁷⁰] the old SANGA-priest. And they eat and they drink.

They provide [goblets], they lift the god, and [they start lea]ding the adorned sheep in front of the god. The new SANGA-priest and the *hazqara*-women go behind the god. [When] the god reaches the temple of the new SANGA-priest, The new SANGA-priest, sets [in fro]nt of the god, a table with thick bread. They carry the god into the temple of the new SANGA-priest and they put up an altar.⁵⁷¹ [The sheep⁵⁷²] which is adorned, they let it go. They do not slaughter (it). [While?] the elders drink in a *uaršuli* manner,⁵⁷³ the *hazqara*-women

⁵⁶⁸ Kellerman, *ibid*, restores here "The new priest", yet this should be rejected in light of our understanding of the installation rite, where (on line 30) the new priest sacrifices for the first time in the temple after he receives the god at the temple entrance.

⁵⁶⁹ The "seven gods" are considered positive and negative gods. It seems, however, that they are mostly understood as demons, and belong to the Netherworld. They appear in important transitional times of life: birth, marriage, and death. See: Haas (1994) 481-487.

⁵⁷⁰ Neu, *StBoT* 5: 30 restores [IT-TI] and translates: "beim dritten Male aber setzt sich der neue Priester hinauf [zu dem] alten Priester" (= he sits up by the old priest). This symbolic act is an important one in the ritual and may represent equality of status or transfer of status. It repeatedly appears in IBoT I 29, for which see Güterbock (1969) 99-103. This ritual is regarded a rite of passage for a prince, and in different stages of the ritual different functionaries sit down in front of the prince to eat and drink, starting with priests and ending with prostitutes.

⁵⁷¹ Kellerman, *ibid*, translates: "and set (him) on the pedestal". I prefer to read it as a separate sentence, assuming the altar is brought to the new temple for the first time. This finds support in the festival for "purifying the altar" (see KUB 44.21 below pp. 239-240).

⁵⁷² Read *ku-in* for *ku-iš*; compare Carter (1962) p. 151.

⁵⁷³ Carter, *ibid*, translates *uaršuliš*- as "for refreshment". Friedrich, *HW*: 247^b gives for *uaršul*- "Besänftigung, Beruhigung", on the basis of the verb *uarš*-.

amuse the god. They set [la]mp(s). [The ne]xt day, daily liver meat, chopped meat, a stew of *šiami* they prepare, and they place (it) before the god. They break [thick brea]d and they fill a rhyton.

[Total]: The new-SANGA-priest provides: one sheep one *PARISU* (and) two *SUTU* of flour, five vessels of beer, one pula-festival.⁵⁷⁴

In this rite of installation, the new SANGA-priest is chosen by lots. Once chosen, he places his lot before the deity and, being adorned with fruit, he marches in a procession along with a sheep to the temple of the old SANGA-priest. They approach it three times and then the new SANGA-priest sits in front of the old priest. They both eat and drink together and, with that, the new SANGA-priest receives the consent of the priesthood for his introduction to the cult. He then goes to his new temple following the image of the deity and the sheep; the *hazqara*-women follow the deity and the priest. At the entrance to the temple the new priest sets a table for the deity, and then he enters the temple and an altar is placed inside. Finding himself now inside his temple with his deity, the new priest has reached the final stage of the process; he has been introduced to his office, making the new SANGA-priest ready to conduct his first rite.

KUB 44.21 shows how the new SANGA-priest celebrates the festival of purifying the altar. After a GUDU-priest consecrates a sheep which is then slaughtered, they sit to eat and drink. Then, lines 9-12 describe a ritual in which the SANGA's activity seems most important:

9 [The cups] they pr[ovide]. The god, however, they amuse.

10 [] While, however, the new SANGA-priest

11 [the people?] of the town eat inside the house of the new SANGA-priest.

12 [] He dresses himself as a SANGA-priest.

Tischler, in addition to these two meanings, also gives "angenehmer Geruch, Duft" *HDW* (1982) 103. To this should be added the translation suggested by Güterbock in an article on the musical instruments of the Hittites, where he transliterates and translates several rituals which include the word *uaršuli*-. The term appears repetitively as a complement to the act of drinking wine - *uaršuli ekuzi*. Güterbock, in (1995) 57-72, translates all cases with "sniffing(?)"; see especially p. 65 (KUB 25.37 i+): "*na-at-kán ha-an-te-ez-zi pal-ši*"¹⁰ *SAGI.A-pát ūa-ar-šu-li ar-ḫa e-ku-zi*." His translation reads: "The first time only the cupbearer drinks it up, sniffing (lit.? in the smell)". It is clear, from the different texts in which the word appears, that the context is drinking wine during a ritual in a certain manner or with a certain gesture.

⁵⁷⁴ For the translation of this line compare *CHD* P, *pai*- B p. 50, 7'.

While the people/elders(?) eat in his house, he puts on the clothes of a SANGA-priest. Wearing these clothes symbolizes his new status.

KUB 60.152 describes the arrival of a new SANGA-priest at the town of Zuppara. At the gate of the town he is awaited by GUDU-priests and the elders of the town. It seems that the new SANGA-priest arrives with a deity, which the GUDU-priest takes from him and then gives him other deities. Next they give him something to drink, which he offers back in return. They all go into town, and bread is spread at an entrance to town while the women-singers sing at the back of the procession. Someone is then chosen by lots to call all the priests to the temple. They all go inside and the GUDU-priest places the deities on the altar. The participants sit to eat. A ritual takes place with the participation of the new priest who arrived in the town where he was expected. A few more fragmentary texts mention the new SANGA-priest, but without sufficient context for a clear reading.⁵⁷⁵

C) The new priest may be installed in the town where he resides, or he may move to another town. The transfer of SANGA-priests from town to town is evident in the words of the SANGA-priest Luppaki, who testifies on his transfer in KUB 42.100 col. iii 30'-35' (4.1.6.4 above p. 189). The central government transfers the priests from place to place according to the needs of the cult. This is also apparent from cult inventory texts, which describe the state of temples in different areas of the kingdom. We learn from KBo 2.1⁵⁷⁶ of temples having been built but in which SANGA-priests do not yet reside. The description of the stelae of different towns in KUB 12.2⁵⁷⁷ is even more interesting in this regard, since a comparison of col. i and col. iv shows different SANGA-priests for the same deities. The list of priests in col. i and iv is as follows:

Col. i	
deity []	^m Tattiya
New-god	^m Arma-piya
Storm-god of Aššur	^m Marašanda
Pentaruḫši	^m Maraš[anda]
	^f Baza (^{MUNUS} AMA. DINGIR ^{LIM})

⁵⁷⁵ KUB 25.23 i 2'; see Hazenbos (2003) 31, 36. Also, in Carter (1962) 154-176, are the texts IBoT 3.88, 3 and KUB 44.48, 8.

⁵⁷⁶ Carter (1962) 51-73.

⁵⁷⁷ Carter (1962) 74-89.

Storm-god of the thunderstorm	^m Duddulli
Male gods of the clouds	^m Dudduwalli
Storm-god <i>piḫaimi</i>	^m Ḫullu
Išelku	^m Muttanani
Iarri	^m Harwa-ziti
Storm-god of Ḫayaša	^m Wanni
deity []	^f Piḫauwiya (^{MUNUS} AMA. DINGIR ^{LIM})

Col. iv	
deity []	^m Pallanna
Storm-god of Nerik	^m Tarḫunta-piya
Storm-god of Tarmaliya	^m Ḫudrala
Pentaruḫši	^m Ḫudrala
Storm-god of luxuriant growth	^m Tarḫunta-piya
Storm-god of Aššur	^m Tarḫunta-piya
New god	^m Dudduwalli
deity []	^m Pallatati

By tracking the changes in the names of the SANGA-priests serving a particular deity, we notice that in col. i the New-god has ^mArma-piya, the Storm-god of Aššur has ^mMarašanda, and Pentaruḫši has both the male priest ^mMaraš[anda] and the female ^fBaza (^{MUNUS}AMA. DINGIR^{LIM}). In col. iv the New-god has ^mDudduwalli, the Storm-god of Aššur has ^mTarḫunta-piya, and ^dPentaruḫši has only the male priest ^mḪudrala. It seems that a great change of personnel has occurred, and if the SANGA-priest ^mDudduwalli in col. iv is the same, then he is the only one who survived the changes over time. Unfortunately, col. i preserved only nine deities and col. iv only six, of which only three repeat col. i. So it still may be either that changes occurred involving the deities worshiped in this town, or that there is more than one town listed here. This may be the solution if we regard col. ii 4 as the end of one list.⁵⁷⁸

One conclusion is certain: all *ḫuwaši*-stones, regarded as deities, were taken care of by a certain SANGA-priest (or in two cases, also priestesses) who were required to maintain the festivals celebrated to these deities as well as the food offered to them during the festivals. Since the document may reveal changes in the cult of that unknown area, it could also point to the fact that the SANGA-priests, as noted earlier, are considered state employees. They have been appointed to their office by the central government, and therefore may have changed both town and deity affiliations in the course of time.

⁵⁷⁸ The line preserves only]x-en-ta QA-[TT].

One last observation on KUB 12.2 col. i should be made. The Storm-god of Aššur, a non-Hittite deity, is served by a Hittite priest in a Hittite manner.

D) Priesthood as established or appointed by kings:

As concluded in the previous paragraph, the priests belonged to the central government, and as such were appointed by the kingdom. Unfortunately, only few texts clearly relate to this issue. The most obvious evidence consists of royal decisions on the establishment of cult centers and the building of new temples to which SANGA-priests were assigned, such as KUB 38.1 obv. i 1'-14' (instituting SANGA-priests to deities in the town of Tarammeka), KUB 38.1 iv 7 (instituting a SANGA-priest to the town of Lapana), and KUB 38.1 iv 22. These texts speak in the plural, referring to the central government taking care of the cult, while there are references to direct involvement of the king in matters of priestly installation.

There are few texts which directly refer to the appointment of a SANGA-priest by the Hittite king. First, I present a fragment which may have been a royal decree, but there is no direct indication of the appointee (KUB 40.47). Quoted next are two more texts, both relating to royal involvement in the appointment: KUB 5.6 and KUB 16.32.

KUB 40.47: Fragment of instructions to a priest
Obv.

x+1	LÜSA]NGA DÜ-nu-un [?]
2'	LÜSA]NGA DÜ-nu-un [?]
3']x iš-tar-na da-na [?] -x-x-x
4'	
5 [?]	m]e-ik-ki na-aḫ-ḫa-an-za e-eš [?
6']MES
7']x ku-e-da-ni-pí-ki šu-up[
8']

9 [?]]x-in aš-ša-nu-uš-k[i?
10'	li]-e ға-aš-ta-nu-ši
11'	-z]i kat-ta li-e ta-li-ja-ši

]I made a [SA]NGA-priest
]I made a [SA]NGA-priest
]between
 (nothing written)

]be very much afraid⁵⁷⁹[
](plur.)..
]on which sa[cred] place[
]

]...you(sg.) will arrange[
]you(sg.) shall not cause a sin
]you shall not leave aside (i.e. take for oneself⁵⁸⁰)

This text indicates an installation of a SANGA-priest, and since it is in the first person, it may very likely be the king who speaks. This text is reminiscent of KBo 3.3, which involves the status of a SANGA-priest who is probably Telipinu, the son of Suppiluliuma I (see 6.1.3 below p. 375). In KBo 3.3 ii 27-28, the king decrees *mān DINU-ma kuitki nu šmaš-kán* LÜ SANGA ANA DI^{HI.A} *ištarna tieškiddu*: "But if (there is) some court proceeding, the SANGA-priest shall intercede for you in legal matters."⁵⁸¹ On the other hand, the language and style are of a priestly character, similar to that seen in the ITP.⁵⁸²

E) KUB 5.6: Oracle inquiry⁵⁸³

As presented by van den Hout, this text is one of several oracle texts which are identified as "oracle summaries" on the basis of a formula, presenting the three or four methods of oracle techniques used to receive an answer from the divine.⁵⁸⁴

The first column of this text inquires about the way in which certain festivals are to be celebrated. The inquiry is conducted in relation to the illness of His Majesty. Paragraphs i 38'-43' and iii 3-7 present answers concerning the king's illness:

Col. i 38'-43'

"In regard to the sins against the deity which were established, they have been re-addressed. When they go to the SANGA-priest, as they themselves lead the SANGA-priest to Aštata, (and) once they come (over there), they will set in order the rituals of the deity. If, however, in regard to this deity, besides the illness of His Majesty, no evil whatsoever (has) come up, let the

⁵⁷⁹ Compare ITP above 3.9.4.5 pp. 124-125.

⁵⁸⁰ Compare *daliya*- above in ITP: 3.8, §6/1, 61 p. 98.

⁵⁸¹ Puhvel, *HED* 2: 479-480.

⁵⁸² Is the priest instructed to arrange the cult in Ḫalab?

⁵⁸³ For bibliography on this text see CTH 570 and also van den Hout (1998) 19 n. 48. For van den Hout's treatment of this text, see *ibid.*, p. 14.

⁵⁸⁴ Van den Hout (1998) 13-22.

KIN-oracle be favorable. The KIN-oracle (according to) three attempts (was) favorable.”

Col. iii 3-7

Regarding Armatalli, they have repeatedly inquired concerning his prie[stshi]p, but he was not established (by oracle). Also, regarding the desecration of the deity which was brought up, according to the techniques (of divination) another offering (is needed). When His Majesty is well, he will come and offer in the Hittite manner. The (question of the) SANGA-priest is not finished yet.⁵⁸⁵

One may assume that since this is a summary tablet, the issues involving the SANGA-priests in column i and column iii are not necessarily the same. In column i we learn that a SANGA-priest is to be taken to the town/land of Aštata, which we know today to be the province in which Emar was situated. This means a SANGA-priest is transferred to northern Syria to organize the cult of a deity. If column iii does indeed continue the issue of the priest selected to be sent, then we learn that priests were appointed from Ḫattuša to officiate in different areas of the kingdom during the New Kingdom period. The man chosen for this mission is called Armatalli, who seems to be a Hittite.⁵⁸⁶ This Armatalli, however, cannot be appointed until there is a confirmation from the deity. This is checked through the different techniques of divination. Not until the deities affirm the choice of the candidate can he be appointed to office. Since the appointment is being delayed, the whole process of going to Aštata and reorganizing the cult is on hold, if indeed the subjects of the two texts are the same.

One important point arising from KUB 5.6 is that a SANGA-priest's priestship must be approved by an oracle. The deity itself must approve of its priest.

This can be compared with the establishment of priesthood in KUB 16.32 ii 8'-13':

But now, when they c[arry] up the *ulhiš* of Ḫalpa's city gods, His Majesty [will] com[plete] the *mantalli*-rituals. When, then, the king of Kargamiš comes up (there), they will send Katapaili down out to him and when they celebrate the deity on its premises, they will 'put him on the road' and found a priesthood the[re] (and install the one) who will be ascertained.⁵⁸⁷

While in KUB 17.35 i 17'-37', the "festival of the lot", the SANGA-

⁵⁸⁵ See CHD Š: 187^b.

⁵⁸⁶ See Laroche, *NH* p. 290.

⁵⁸⁷ Van den Hout (1998) 57.

priest was chosen by lot-casting, here the method is consulting an oracle.

We should mention here, though with some hesitation, the possible reading of the word *pula*[z] in a prayer of Puduḫepa (KUB 21.27 i 11-12). Its subject is the selection of her husband Ḫattušili III by lot to be the priest of the Storm-god of Nerik.⁵⁸⁸

On the other hand, the installation of the prince Telipinu by his father Šuppiluliuma I to the priesthood of Kizzuwatna should also be mentioned.⁵⁸⁹ The decree of king Šuppiluliuma (i 5) which names as well the queen Ḫenti, the crown prince Arnuwanda, and the chief of the body-guard Zida, dedicates Telipinu to the cult of Tešsub, Ḫepat, and Šarrumma: nu-ut-ta ¹⁰SANGA i-ja-u-[en] ("we have made you a SANGA-priest"). The installation to the priesthood is to last for generations (line 8), and the priestship is tied in this case with the "lordship" of the kingdom, a political office. We do not learn of any religious means by which Telipinu was either nominated or chosen to the priestly office.⁵⁹⁰

Another royal installation to the priesthood regards Tudḫaliya IV, about whom we have two references. One reference is made by Ḫattušili III, his father, who mentions his installation to the priesthood of Ištar, Ḫattušili's protective deity. In the "Apology of Ḫattušili III" he says:⁵⁹¹ "(For) Ištar (is) my goddess and they will worship her as Ištar the High. The mausoleum which I made myself, I handed it over to the goddess, (and) I handed over to you, as a servant, my son Tudḫaliya as well. Let Tudḫaliya, my son, administer the house of Ištar! I (am) the servant of the goddess, let him be servant of the goddess as well!" (col. iv 74-79). Ḫattušili III appointed his son Tudḫaliya as a "servant who will administer" the house of the goddess Ištar.

The second reference to Tudḫaliya is in a ritual text from Nerik. KUB 36.90 is an evocation text to draw the Storm-god of Nerik to its festival (obv. 14-19): "The next day, come to your festival. On the next day they will anoint Tudḫaliya for priesthood at your favorable places, the city of Ḫakmiš and the city of Nerik.

⁵⁸⁸ See the edition of the text by Sørenhagen (1981) 108. On choosing by lots among the Hittites and other ANE cultures, see Taggar-Cohen (2002b) 97-103.

⁵⁸⁹ KUB 19.25 and 19.26, see Goetze (1940) 12-17.

⁵⁹⁰ For more on Telipinu "the SANGA-priest", see 6.1.3 below pp. 375-377.

⁵⁹¹ Goetze (1967) 38-39. I follow the English translation of van den Hout, *CoS* 1:204 §12b.

On the next day, come to your festival!"⁵⁹²

Tudḫaliya is installed as priest to Ištar, but also to the Storm-god of Nerik. KUB 36.90 refers to an anointment that is not mentioned in any of the other texts regarding priestly installation.⁵⁹³ We do, however, encounter anointment to kingship in the Hittite texts, mainly in KUB 36.119 5', which was restored by Gurney⁵⁹⁴ and later by Otten,⁵⁹⁵ who joined it with KUB 36.118. A second example is the enthronement of a substitute king in KUB 24.5+ obv. 19', as was treated by Kümmel.⁵⁹⁶ We may therefore assume that in this text, KUB 36.90, the anointment of Tudḫaliya to the priesthood is actually an anointment to kingship, which implies the priesthood in service of all the gods. On royal priesthood, see below under sub-chapter 6.1 p. 369.

4.1.9 The Priesthood and the central cultic administration

From the above description of the Hittite SANGA-priesthood, we may conclude that the SANGA-priests were part of a centralized administrative system. The priests were not individuals who established their own shrines in rural areas, but rather belonged to the central Hittite administrative bureaucracy. A town belonged to a district, and as such its cult was checked and listed. This was first seen in the Instructions for Commanders of Border Garrisons (2.3 above p. 11), in which the commander is responsible for reporting on the cult facilities of a town, including its priests. This conclusion may be strengthened with the evidence from Kuşaklı and Maşat, two towns outside the realm of Ḫattuša which inform us of priests officiating in these places.

The Kuşaklı text, which is of the cult inventory variety, reports on the cult in that town, and delivers the testimony of the SANGA-priest Dudu as other priests testify from other temples in the kingdom.⁵⁹⁷ This places the town Šarešša=Kuşaklı within the general administrative system of the Hittite kingdom.

⁵⁹² See V. Haas (1970) 179. For another mention of Tudḫaliya's priesthood see KUB 25.21 iii 13-16; see also 6.1.3 below p. 373.

⁵⁹³ The only text which refers to pouring something on the head of the SANGA-priest is broken on the word indicating what is poured; see the text discussed in 4.1.6 above p. 184.

⁵⁹⁴ Gurney (1979) 213-223.

⁵⁹⁵ Otten (1990) 224.

⁵⁹⁶ Kümmel, *StBoT* 3: 10-11.

⁵⁹⁷ For more on these testimonies, see 4.3.2 below pp. 280-296.

The letters from Maşat mention a ^{LÚ}SANGA without his private name. Thus it is not clear who this SANGA-priest is, or whether he belongs to Maşat or is a royal administrative figure.⁵⁹⁸

Still, the most prominent evidence on this aspect of the cult is the direct involvement of the Hittite king in cultic activity throughout his kingdom. It is evident first in the direct instructions to the cult functionaries seen in the ITP in Ḫattuša, then in the instructions to the cult functionaries in Nerik and Zippalanda (4.1.6.2 above p. 179). In KBo 2.4 iv 27'-28' the *išhiul* is issued directly from the king's mouth: INIM Ta-ba-ar-na LUGAL GAL ki-i-kán // iš-ḫi-ú-ul le-e ku-iš-ki ʔa-aḫ-nu-zi ("The word of the Tabarna the great king, this *išhiul* no one shall change!") The *išhiul* itself includes very detailed instructions about ritual procedures for the cult functionaries with respect to the celebration of the monthly festival.

Moreover, we see the involvement of the king in appointing cult functionaries to key areas or towns throughout the kingdom. Such are the cases of appointments in Kizzuwatna, Aštata, and Ḫalab, and we may also include Carchemiš since its ruler was identified as a high priest. In that respect we may return to the evidence from the Maşat letters, which mention a ^{LÚ}SANGA without his private name; thus it is not clear who this SANGA-priest is, or whether he was a royal administrator from another area.⁵⁹⁹ In letter HKM 74 from Maşat, this SANGA-priest writes back to a certain man called Kaššu, in Maşat, regarding a transfer of troops. The SANGA-priest sounds upset by the question of Kaššu, and answers that he regularly reports to the palace about his own slaves. Lines 12-13 tell of his origin in Kizzuwatna:

12	KUR ^{URU} Ki-iz-zu-ʔa-at-na-ja	And since the land of Kizzuwatna,
13	ku-it ḫa-an-te-iz-zi-iš	(is) a front
14	a-ú-ri-iš na-aš-ta	garrison,
15	ma-a-an tu-el	if your
16	ARAD ^{MES} -KA kat-ta an-da	slaves come
17	ú-ʔa-an-zi na-aš-ta	down over here,
18	am-mu-uq-qa EGIR-pa	I, too, will
19	Ú-UL pí-iḫ-ḫi	not give (them) back.

It seems that the dispute involves troops attached to the border garrison who probably belonged to the SANGA-priest and arrived

⁵⁹⁸ Alp, *HKM*: letters 57 and 74.

⁵⁹⁹ Alp, *HKM*: no. 74 : 262-263, with commentary.

in Ziggāšta, while the commander there does not want to release them unless the palace intervenes. The SANGA-priest affiliated with Kizzuwatna says, in a very diplomatic way, he will not demand them. He says that Kizzuwatna is also a front line, and that if the men had arrived there he would have kept them. The letters from Mašat belong to the period of the Middle Hittite Kingdom, and therefore this SANGA-priest from Kizzuwatna may, as suggested by Klinger, be a ruler prior to Telipinu son of Šuppiluliuma.⁶⁰⁰

The great Hittite king who dwells in Ḫattuša is in charge of the cult over his entire domain, and therefore he can be directly involved in a decree which instructs the cult of the Deity of the Night transferred to Šamuḫa, as reflected in KUB 32.133. The king is said to have mandated the rituals and the obligations or regulations of the cult, reflecting the meaning of the term *iš-ḫi-ú-li*.⁶⁰¹

⁶⁰⁰ Klinger (1995) 93.

⁶⁰¹ KUB 32.133 i 4-5: nu-za ḫa-az-zi-ūi-ta iš-ḫi-ú-li-^{BLA}-ja ku-e I-NA É dGE₆ kat-ta-an ḫa-ma-an-kat-ta -“The ceremonies and regulations/obligations which he had mandated for the temple of the Deity of the Night”. For a similar royal practice in regard to the cult see Taggar-Cohen (2005) 111-112.