

5. FEMALE PRIESTHOOD

This chapter will present two main titles for the female priesthood appearing in the Hittite texts. The ITP indicated only one title for a class of priestesses - the ^{MUNUS}AMA.DINGIR^{LIM} - but from the texts it seems that another title, ^{MUNUS}SANGA, overlaps this one. Therefore, the latter shall be presented first.

5.1 THE SANGA-PRIESTESS

5.1.1 Introduction

The texts presented in Chapter 2, which listed the main groups and classes of priests as seen by the Hittite themselves, did not mention the SANGA-priestess. However, since the SANGA-priest is an important class within the male priesthood, there is reason to assume that the SANGA-priestess may have been his female counterpart. Accordingly, the current chapter will present the evidence collected from the Hittite texts on this class of priestesses. The presentation is to follow this order:

- The texts in which the SANGA-priestess is mentioned:
CTH number, genre, and approximate date of the texts.
- The context of the appearance of the SANGA-priestess.
- The activity in which this priestess participates.

The following are the CTH numbers which include texts that either mention or describe the activity of this priestess:

- CTH 625 - (AN.TAḪ.ŠUM-festival) IBoT 2.4
- CTH 626 - (Outline of the *nuntarriyašha*-festival) KBo 24.85 / KUB 56.43
- CTH 627 - (KILAM-festival) KBo 23.91-92
- CTH 639- (The deity Titiwatti-festival) KBo 23.97 = KUB 7.19 / KBo 20.78
- CTH 647- (Festival celebrated by the prince) KUB 20.88 / 34.128
- CTH 650- (Fragments naming the *zintuḫi*-women) KBo 9.132 / KUB 44.13
- CTH 651- (Fragments naming the *ḥazgara*-women) KUB 57.95
- CTH 670- (Festival fragments) KBo 8.122 / 23.82 / 25.14 / KUB 52.95
- CTH 704- (Lists of Hurrian gods) KBo 24.73 / KUB 25.44
- CTH 706- (The deities Teššub and Ḫepat) KBo 20.113

This list of the texts shows that the SANGA-priestess appears mainly in the festival texts. The first four items on the list above

include the spring AN.TAḪ.ŠUM-festival, the fall *nuntarriyašha*-festival, the KILAM-festival, and the festival for a certain deity named Titiwatti; the rest of the items are mostly fragments of texts belonging to different festivals. This indicates that the SANGA-priestess belongs to the official cult of the kingdom, since the texts refer to the main festivals of the kingdom in which the royal Hittite family participates.

The preserved texts of the festivals include Middle Hittite copies as well as late Hittite copies for the same festivals, an indication that they were probably celebrated through most of the years of the Hittite Kingdom's existence. Together the texts are not of a great quantity, and we shall present them below.

5.1.2 The appearance of the SANGA-priestess in relation to gods

The SANGA-priestess may appear in the texts as an individual, or she may be part of a group of priestesses.

The SANGA-priestesses are mentioned in connection with female deities, but also with male deities. Thus in KUB 24.85 the deity is Ḫalki, and in the festival for the goddess Titiwatti this deity is served by both male and female SANGA-priests. There is a ^{MUNUS}SANGA ḏTelipinu (a male deity), and next in the same text a ^{MUNUS}SANGA ḏKattahḫa (female deity). We also find a description of a festival in the temple of the goddess Zentuḫi where two ^{MUNUS}SANGA are mentioned on a broken edge (KUB 44.13). Another text mentions the temple of the deity Zulumma where, among the priests of the SANGA class, there is one (male) SANGA-priest of the deity Zulumma and one SANGA-priestess of the mother goddess ḏMAḪ (KUB 57.59).

The priestess is not always mentioned in relation to a specific deity, however. There are cases where the SANGA-priestesses are prescribed for certain activities in the ritual, but due to the fragmentary state of the material the meaning of the priestesses' activity is not clearly understood. Such is the case in the Zentuḫi-festival (KUB 44.13) and the festival naming *ḥazgara*-women (KBo 9.132). Both texts will be presented below.

5.1.3 The context of the SANGA-priestess' activity

The context of all the textual material to be presented in the following survey is cultic. The priestesses are mentioned participating in rituals, performing in front of the altar and in front

of the deities. In what follows, about fourteen passages from cultic texts will be presented, through which a picture of the activity of the priestesses will emerge.

A) The SANGA-priestesses are described in KUB 56.43 as follows:

Obv.² ii

x+2	]GAL ^{IIA} -Š[U-NU[	]the[ir] cups[
3'	la-ḫ]u-u-ua-i ^{LÚ} SAGI.A-m[a	p]ours. The cupbearer, [
4'	]x A-ŠAR-ŠU e-ip-zi	] .. takes his place.
<hr/>		
5'	LUGAL ² -u]š ša-ra-a ti-ja-zi	the king?] steps up
6'	]x-e-di-iz pa-iz-zi	] he goes on that side.
<hr/>		
7'	]x ^d U-na-aš A-NA ^{MUNUS} SANGA	] to the SANGA-priestess
		of the Storm-god
8'	]x ta-aš ti-ja-zi	] ...He steps
9'	] -zi	

Broken

Col. iii

x+4	[GIŠ ^d]NANNA.TUR LÚ ^{MEŠ} [ḫal-li-ja-ri-eš]
5'	SIR ^{RU} MUNUS ^{pal-ua} [-tal-la-aš]
6'	pal-ua-a-iz-[zi]
<hr/>	
7'	LUGAL-uš GUB-aš ^d Te-[li-pi-nu]
8'	e-ku-zi GIŠ ^d]NANNA GAL/TUR]
9'	LÚ ^{MEŠ} ḫal-li-ja-ri-eš [ḫa-al-ḫa-an-zi
10'	LÚ ^{pal-ua} [-tal-la-aš p[al-ua-a-iz]-zi
<hr/>	
11'	LÚ ^{GIŠ} BANŠUR ^{NINDA} zi-i[p?-l]a-aš-ši-in da-a-i
12'	UGULA LÚ ^{MEŠ} MU ma-a-aš-aš ² -ša-a[n da]-a-i
<hr/>	
13'	[LUGAL ² -u]š e-ša ^{LÚ} SAGI.A-aš ⁸²² -ma[
14'	[]x MUNUS ^{MEŠ} SANGA a-ku-ua-an-na
15'	[-z]i ta-aš pa-iz-z[i]

Broken

(the *ḫaliyari*-men) the small INANNA lyre
(play and) sing. The *palwatala*-woman crie[s] out.
The king, standing, drinks the deity Te[lipinu]. The [small/large]
the *ḫaliyari*-men [play] the Inanna lyre.
The *palwatala*-man cries out.
The table-man places *zi[p]aššin*-bread

⁸²² See the collation of Košak (1988) 148.

The overseer of the cooks places loc[us]t⁷
[The king] sits down. The cupbearer, however,
] the SANGA-priestesses to drink
]... then he goes.

Rev? iv

x+3	[z]a-al-ḫa-a-l-it [	with <i>zalḫai</i> -vessel [
4'	al-ša-an-da-an GEŠTIN-an ḫar-[z]i [?]	['true'] wine he holds ⁸²³
5'	ták-kán GAL ^{IIA} ŠA MUNUS ^{MEŠ} SANGA[?]	He washes the cups of the SANGA-priestesses
6'	GEŠTIN-it a-ar-ri [	with the wine.]
<hr/>		
7'	ták-kán MUNUS ^{MEŠ} SANGA ki-iš-ri [	He puts (them) in the hand of the SANGA-priestesses
8'	da-a-i ta-aš-ma-aš-kán za-al-ḫ[a-a-it]	And to them [with a] <i>zalḫ[ai]</i> -vessel]
9'	GEŠTIN-an A-NA GAL ^{IIA} -ŠU-NU x[	the wine in their cups [pours?]
10'	nu-za ^{LÚ} SAGI.A	the cupbear[er
11'	A-ŠAR-ŠU 'e1-[ep-zi]	his place [he] ta[kes.]
<hr/>		
12'	LUGAL-uš ša-r[a-a ti-ja-zi ⁷]	The king [steps up]
13'	ta-aš e-di-i[z pa-iz-zi]	He goes on that side.

next two lines are too fragmentary

Col. v ⁸²⁴

x+2	[t]a-aš ^{GIŠ} kar-la-aš kat-ta-an	He [st]eps down the wooden
3'	[t]i-i-e-zi	rung (of ladder)
<hr/>		
4'	[LUGAL]-uš IGI ^{IIA} -it i-ja-zi	[The kin]g makes/signals ⁸²⁵ with the eyes
5'	]x LÚ ^{MEŠ} SANGA a-ku-ua-an-na	]...the SANGA-priests to drink
6'	]x-aš-ma-aš pi-an-zi	] to them they give.
7'	a-k]u-ua-an-zi	] they [dr]ink?

too fragmentary
Broken

Dating the tablet on the basis of the script shows a New Kingdom period.⁸²⁶ The setting of this ritual may have been a temple, with

⁸²³ See Cotticelli-Kurras, *THeth* 18: 161.

⁸²⁴ Popko (1988) 91, ascribes the text to CTH 626 and indicates that it is a dupl. to KBo 30.63.

⁸²⁵ See Puhvel, *HED* 1/2: 337.

⁸²⁶ The sign SANGA.

several cult functionaries participating. Among the participants is the king, who drinks the deity Telipinu, and listens to the INANNA lyre being played by the *haliyari*-men. Other cultic personnel taking part in this ritual are the *palwatalla*-man and woman who cry out in turn, while the musicians play the INANNA lyre. The table-man and the overseer of the cooks place food in front of the deity, and the SANGA-priestesses are given something to drink. In col. iv², during the ritual, the cups of the SANGA-priestesses are washed with wine and then they are given to drink. In the last broken column v, the SANGA-priests are given something to drink. It seems that there is some symmetry between the appearance of *palwatalla*-men and *palwatalla*-women, on the one hand, and of the male and female SANGA-priests, on the other. The fact that there is no direct continuation between the columns does not allow us to say more than this.

B) Another festival fragment is KBo 24.85+39.66.⁸²⁷

Obv. i

x+1 x-an x[

2' nu ^Gda-ma-la-an-ga-aš ku-^Iuš[?] [
3' nu-uš-ša-an ^{TUG}ku-re-eš-ni pa-x[
4' iš-pi-ni-in ga-tar x-x-x ta [
5' 2 ^{NINDA} har-na-an-ta-aš-ši-it[
6' nu ^dHal-ki-ja-aš DUMU ^{MUNUS}SANG[A
7' 2 ^{NINDA} har-na-an-ta-aš-ši-uš[
8' nu-uš-kán pa-ra-a a-aš-k[a-az
9' e-di-iz-za x x x[
Broken

damalanga which?....[

And them on the woman's headware

.....[

With two *harnantašši*⁸²⁸-breads [

A child of a SANGA-priestess of the deity Halki[

Two *harnantašši*-breads [

Them, from outs[ide

on the other side[

This fragment indicates that a child, maybe the daughter of the

⁸²⁷ A MH text (note the signs GI, KI, DI); see Nakamura, *StBoT* 45: 445, who identifies this fragment as belonging to the *nuntarriyašha*-festival days tablet.

⁸²⁸ ^{NINDA}*harnantašši*- "fermented bread". See Hoffner, *AIHeth*: 198.

priestess of the deity Halki, can serve in the ritual. The woman's headware points to a female serving the deity. The form DUMU ^{MUNUS}SANGA, translated here as "child", will be discussed below in relation to the idea of the inheritance of the priesthood.

C) In the festival to the goddess Titiwatti, known to be a female deity from KUB 38.14,⁸²⁹ we find the SANGA-priestess acting in an interesting ritual together with a group of KAR.KID-women (usually translated as "prostitutes"⁸³⁰). The setting of the ritual is outside the temple, since they go up to the great gate of the town. From the broken lines it looks as if the KAR.KID-women sing some blessing song to the king in the Hattic language, since it starts with the words "Tabarna kätte" ("Tabarna the king"). Following is the transliteration and translation of the first column of the text.

CTH 639 - ^dTitiwatti festival A. KBo 23.97+KBo 20.78⁸³¹

B. KUB 7.19 C. KUB 54.73

Obv. i

First line missing

2 ^IMUNUS^{MEŠ} KAR.^I[KID

3 a-ša-an-zi[

4 ^IMUNUS^{MEŠ} KAR.KID-ma-kán x-x-[

5 ma-aḥ-ḥa-an-ma ^{LÚ}UR.BAR.RA ŠA ŠAḥ ^{UZU}ḥu-ul-ḥu-li [

6 [n]a-at A-NA ^{LÚ}SANGA ^dTi-ti-ḡa-at-ti pa-a-i na-at-ša-[an

7 [^{MUNUS}⁸³²]SANGA ^dTe-te-ḡa-at-ti PA-NI ZAG.GAR.RA da-a-[i

8 [na]m-ma 2 ^{LÚ}^{MEŠ} UR.BAR.RA PA-NI DINGIR^{LIM} tar-ku-ḡa-an-zi
MUNUS^{MEŠ} KAR.K[ID-ja]

9 ^Ime-na¹-aḥ-ḥa-an-da tar-ku-ḡa-an-zi GAL MUNUS^{MEŠ} KAR.KID
^{MUNUS}SANGA ^dT[^e-te-ḡa-at-ti

10 pí-ra-an-pát ḡu-u-ḡa-an-te-eš⁸³³ nu tar-ku-^Iiš¹-kán-zi ma-aḥ-ḥa-a[n-ma]

⁸²⁹ See Haas (1994) 503.

⁸³⁰ As shown lately by Assante (1998) the Sumerian KAR.KID, read in Akkadian *harimtu*, is not to be translated into our modern word "prostitute", since the term in ancient Mesopotamia was clearly used as a legal classification. The legal context of the appearance of priestesses in Mesopotamian texts is indicated also by Roth (1999) 445-464.

⁸³¹ This text was transliterated and translated into Italian by de Martino (1989) 73-75.

⁸³² The space seems to fit the sign MUNUS and not LÚ.

⁸³³ The reading with B: 7'.

- 11 tar-ku-ua-an-zi zi-in-na-an-[zi]⁸³⁴

 12 nu DUMU.MUNUS⁸³⁵ šu-up-pí-ša-ra-aš⁸³⁶ ŠA dTi-[ti-ua]l-at-ti
 TUGSA₅ IŠ-T[U]
 13 kar-ap-pa-an ḥar-zi I^A1-NA TUGSA₅-ma-aš-ša-an še-ir BABBAR? a-
 14 ki-it-ta-ri nu-uš-ma-ša-aš pí-ra-an ḥu-u-ja-an-za EGIR-a[n
 15 MUNUS SANGA-ša ŠA dTe-te-ua-at-ti GAL MUNUS^{MES} KAR.KID
 MUNUS^{MES} KAR.KI[D
 16 i-ja-an-da-ri pí-ra-an-na-aš-ma-aš 2 LÚ^{MES} UR.BAR.RA
 ḥu-u-i[a-an-te-eš]
 17 nu-uš-ma-aš pí-ra-an ar-ḥa pár-ah-ḥi-iš-kán-zi na-at[
 18 I-NA KIL.LAM kat-ta a-ra-an-zi nu x-x-x[
 19 EGIR-KASKAL^N EGIR-pa-at [] EGIR-pa []

 20 la-a-i-ja-a ua-a ku-un-na-li ua-a x[
 21 la-a-i-ja-a ua-a ku-un-na-li [ua-a x

 22 ma-ah-ḥa-an-ma-at-kán KÁ.GAL a[-
 23 ša-ku¹-ua-a-tar pa-ra-a-i x[
 24 nu A-NA GAL DUMU^{MES} É.GA[(L ḥa¹)]⁸³⁷
 25 GAL DUMU^{MES} É.GAL-ma a[

 26 [MUNUS]SANGA dTi-ti-u[a-at-ti
 27 []ar-ḥa x[
 28 [] x []
 Broken

Obv. i

First line missing

- 2 'The KAR.KID-wom'l[en
 3 they sit [
 4 The KAR.KID-women, however,

- 5 When, however, the wolf-man the *ḥulḥuli*-meat of the pig [

⁸³⁴ Reading with B: 8'.

⁸³⁵ The sign is not to be read DUMU 1 MUNUS as de Martino (1989) 74 does. See HZL no. 237. See also B: 9', and Košak, *HPM*, photo NO 2637.

⁸³⁶ Copy C: 9' šu-up-pí-ša-ra-ša (MH text). *HW*²: 199, translates the combination "Jungfrau"; de Martino (1989) 74 translates "verGINE". Tischler, *HDW*: 78, derives the word from *šuppi* - "pure, sacred" and translates "die Reine; Jungfrau". Another possibility may be: *šuppi* - "sacred" and *ara* - "companion" to be translated: "a girl (who is) a sacred companion to the deity Titiwatti". This combination will equate with the combination of the Hittite name of the priestess AMA.DINGIR = MUNUS¹ *šiwanzanna* (see above 2.8.2 p. 30). It can also be compared with the title of the *šuppiš* SANGA-priest (4.1.2.4 p. 148).

⁸³⁷ B: 21'.

- 6 he gives it to the SANGA-priest of the deity Titiwatti. And, it[
 7 the SANGA-priest[ess] of the deity Titiwatti places in front of the altar.

 8 [Fu]rther, two wolf-men dance in front of the deity.
 The KAR.K[ID]-women, [too]
 9 on the other side dance. And just in front of the overseer of the
 KAR.KID-women, and the SANGA-priestess of the deity Ti[tiwatti]
 10 they run, and they keep dancing. When [
 11 they finish dancing.

 12 A girl (who is) a sacred companion to the deity Titiwatti, holds up a
 red cloth with a[...]
 13 On the red cloth, however, a white?[....]
 14 is placed. She runs in front and behind of them,[
 15 the SANGA-priestess of the deity Titiwatti, the overseer of the
 KAR.KID-women, (and) the KAR.KID-women
 16 are walking. In front of them the two wolf-men are run[ning
 17 They keep jumping forward in front of them[
 18 down at the gate-house they drink and[
 19 on the way back, later [] back [they sing']

 20 la-a-i-ja-a ua-a ku-un-na-li ua-a x[
 21 la-a-i-ja-a ua-a ku-un-na-li [ua-a x

 22 When, however, at the great gate they [arrive?
 23 a horn he blows [
 24 And to the overseer of the palace attendants [
 25 The overseer of the palace attendants[

 26 The SANGA-priest[ess] of the deity Titiw[atti
 27-28 traces
 Broken

As for the date of the tablet KBo 23.97, it shows New Hittite script but, since it preserves old Hattic tradition, it may well go back to an older precursor.

This cultic scene could indicate a fertility ritual in lines 12-14 due to the participation of the KAR.KID-women.⁸³⁸ On the other hand, due to the participation of the wolf-men and their activities of dancing and running back and forth, it could be a dramatization of scenes from the goddess Titiwatti's myth.

The ritual starts next to an altar to which meat is brought by two wolf-men, probably indicating a hunt; the SANGA-priestess of

⁸³⁸ Compare the participation of the KAR.KID-women in the text "Initiation of a Prince", CTH 633 rev. lines 48-57.

the goddess places it on the altar for the deity. It seems from the broken context that first the SANGA-priest receives it and gives it to the SANGA-priestess. Then a dance is performed by the KAR.KID-women in front of the priestess and the overseer of these KAR.KID-women. In this context the role the priestess fulfills is that of placing the meat on the altar (assuming our restoration for MUNUS is correct). Then, before the priestess and the overseer of the KAR.KID-women, a sacred maiden-priestess(?) of the goddess holds up a red cloth with something else on it. Next the group moves to the gate-house, probably of the town's main gate,⁸³⁹ where they drink and sing in Ḫattic.

After a long song at the great gate they go back again, continuing to sing in Ḫattic. The tablet's colophon (rev. 20') indicates that it records the "songs of the KAR.KID-women" (K)AR.KID ŠIR^{III.A}). This must be an old Ḫattic ritual for the Ḫattian goddess ^dTitiwatti. Apart from placing the meat before the deity, the priestess does not sing or dance but simply watches, or follows the other participants.

D) The next text describes a ritual in which a prince participates. Unfortunately, only the beginning of the first column and the end of perhaps the sixth column were preserved. They inform us of two separate ceremonies, which must be part of one ritual.

KUB 20.88⁸⁴⁰ is a festival for a prince which begins with a special ceremony of priests and priestesses who shake hands and kiss.

Col. i

1 [Two?] senior SANGA-priests one to the other the right [hand]
2 and their mouth kiss. Two [senior?] SANGA-priestesses
3 one to the other the right hand and their mouth
4 kiss.

5 The SANGA-priest of the Storm-god to the SANGA-priest of the god
Telipinu (his) h[and three times]
6 gives. Further he bows. Then, to the SANGA-priest of the deity
[Kattaḫa]
7 (his) hand three times he gives. Further, he bo[ws].

⁸³⁹ Possibly understood from obv. line 22 and rev. line 4'.

⁸⁴⁰ This text was treated by Kühne (1999) 90-95, who transliterated and translated to German column i, which details the kissing ceremony. Therefore, only a translation to English is given below. Related texts are KUB 34.128 and IBoT 3.25, treated by Kühne, *ibid*, pp. 95-97.

8 To the SANGA-priestess of the god Telipinu he gi[ves] a hand three
times [Further, he]
9 bows. To the SANGA-priestess of the deity Kataḫḫa a han[d, three
times]
10 he gives. Further, he bows. Then he steps back.
11 Further, another SANGA-priest of the Storm-god comes, and?
12 and that one to the other one, as well, a hand three times gives.
[Further he]
13 bows. And he steps back.

14 The SANGA-priest of the deity IMIN.IMIN.BI comes. He bows,
[and]
15 he goes [in?]. The SANGA-priest of the god Telipinu the right hand
[and his] mou[th]
16 he kisses. He comes back, and he bows;
17 (also) the SANGA-priest of the deity Kataḫḫa the right hand [and his]
mouth [he kisses].

18 He comes back. He bows, and [he goes].
19 The SANGA-priestess of the god Telipinu the right hand a[nd] his
mouth [kisses]
20 she comes back, and she bows, then she go[es].
21 The SANGA-priestess of the deity Kataḫḫa the right hand [and] his
mouth [kisses]
22 Then she steps back.

23 [] of the god Telipinu , of the deity K[ataḫḫa]
24 []... the GUDU-priest of the Storm-god, to them[
25 [] three times they give [

26-29 Too fragmentary for translation.
Broken

This MH text presents us with a ritual which may take place in the palace (vi² 7'). The first column describes what seems to be a ceremony of welcome between several priests. First, two senior SANGA-priests and two SANGA-priestesses are mentioned, who kiss each other on the hand and on the mouth, priests and priestesses separately. Then we learn that the priests include: a (male) priest of the Storm-god, a (male) priest of the god Telipinu, a priestess of Telipinu and a priestess of the goddess Kataḫḫa. In the following lines they are joined by another SANGA-priest of the Storm-god, a SANGA-priest of the deity IMIN.IMIN.BI and a SANGA-priest of the deity Kataḫḫa. On the scene now are male and female

SANGA-priests of Telipinu and of Kataḥḥa. The text is broken here after a GUDU-priest of the Storm-god is mentioned. In the sixth(?) column, only the GUDU-priest is officiating next to the prince. At this stage of the ritual the prince goes to the temple of the goddess Kataḥḥa.

The ceremony described at the beginning of the tablet is probably the beginning of the ritual. The SANGA-priests welcome the other priests by shaking hands and kissing. The last column describes the distribution of the meat during the ritual with the participation of the prince and the GUDU-priest. It seems that the main deities in this ritual are Telipinu and Kataḥḥa, both ancient Hattian deities. *Kattah* is actually the Hattic word for "queen".⁸⁴¹

Our text ends with the prince going to the temple of the goddess Kataḥḥa, after the ritual of presenting the meat is finished. The mention of the deity Kataḥḥa in relation to the prince brings to mind the EZEN₄ *ḥaššumaš* "festival of procreation" (IBoT 1.29), known also as "An initiation rite for a Hittite prince".⁸⁴² In this ritual a group of twelve SANGA-priests sit down in front of the prince as he arrives at the house of the cook. The AMA.DINGIR-priestess is mentioned twice, together with the other priests, but with no mention of a ^{MUNUS}SANGA-priestess. An equal number of twelve females, a group of KAR.KID-women, sit down in front of the prince at the *arzana*-house at the end of the tablet. Theoretically, the text KUB 20.88 may prescribe the prior activity of the festival described on the EZEN₄ *ḥaššumaš* ("festival of procreation") tablet, since the temple of the goddess Kataḥḥa is the destination of the prince at the end of KUB 20.88.

E) Another ritual mentioning two SANGA-priestesses is KBo 25.14. Unfortunately, its fragmentary state enables us only to say that they are named together with two KAR.KID-women, next to the king and some dignitaries, *alamzu*-men, and wolf-men. The ritual description does not include the priestesses, but one assumes that they do take part in the ritual. What follows is the fragmentary text, showing MH script:⁸⁴³ KBo 25.14:

⁸⁴¹ See Otten, *StBoT* 13: 46, where in KBo 19.128 and its parallel texts ^dKataḥḥa interestingly equals the Sumerograms ^aMUNUS.LUGAL.

⁸⁴² Güterbock (1969) 99-103.

⁸⁴³ See CHD L-N: p.78^b. Also the form *aruwaenzi* - see Neu, *StBoT* 25:153; Košak, *HPM*, photo NO 0448/9.

Obv. i

x+2'	]x 2 MUNUS ^{MES} SANGA	]...two SANGA-priestesses
3'	]x a-ru-ua-en-zi	]...they prostrate themselves
4'	wa]-al-ḥa-an-zi-ša-an	] they (s)trike (the instruments)
5'	]x-an-zi]...
6'	a?]-ku-ua-an-zi	] they [d]rink
7'	]GIS ^{RU} LÚ ^{MES} DUGUD	] the wood. The dignitaries
8'	]an GIS ^{RU} BANŠUR ^{ULA} -uš ti-an-zi	]... they set the tables.
9'	]x-an-zi GIS ^{RU} dIN[ANNA]-TUR	the small IN[ANNA] musical instrument
10'	]x pa-a-an-zi	]... they go
11'	]lú ¹ -ua-te-iz-zi	]s/he [b]rings
12'	traces	
	Broken	

Col. ii

x+1	x[
2'	GIR-an I-[NA] x [	the knife i[nto?)]...[
3'	a-ru-ua-en-zi t[a?	they prostrate themselves, and[
4'	2 MUNUS ^{MES} KAR.KID 2-ŠU š[u?	Two KAR.KID-women twice...[
5'	pa-a-an-zi UGULA LÚ ^{MES} ALAM.Z[U,	they go. The overseer of the <i>alamzu</i> -m[en
6'	tu-uš lu-li-ja-aš x[	Them, at the spring's[
7'	pār-aš-tu (eras. -aš) lu-uk-ki-iz-zi[	he sets fire to the leaves
8'	ḥu-i-ja-an-zi LUGAL-uš[	they run. The king [
9'	LUGAL-uš E[GI]R GIS ^{RU} IG [	The king behind' a door [
10'	pa-a-i LUGAL-š[a] KÁ-aš x[	he gives. And the king, at the gate of[
11'	LUGAL-i pa-ra-a e-ip[zi	he hol[ds] forth to the king[
12'	[]x pa-iz-zi x[	[ ] he goes [
13'	[]a-ru-ua-e[n-zi	[] they prostr[ate
14'	traces	

Rev. iii

x+2	]x LÚ ^{MES} [
3'	]LÚ ^{MES} ALAM.ZU, pa-[	] the <i>alamzu</i> -men g[o?
4'	]LÚ ^{MES} UR.BAR.RA A-NA 2[	] the wolf-men to two[
5'	z]i-in-na-an-zi PA-N[I	]they finish. In [front
6'	p]í-e-da-i ták-kán 3 LÚ	] he [b]rings. And three men[
7'	bú]G ḥa-ni-eš-ša-an-na LÚ ^{MES}[	] <i>ḥanešša</i> -vessel, too, the men[

- 8' LÚ^{MEŠ} UR.BAR.RA ^{NINDA} ša-ra-a[m-ma] the wolf [men] šara[mma-bread
- 9']x-ú-un TUŠ-as GIŠ^dIN[ANNA] seated the IN[ANNA] musical instrument...[
- 10']x EM-ZA pár-ši-ja[] sour (bread) he breaks[
- 11']x [Broken

This ritual may have taken place outside the city at a spring. The king and some dignitaries seem to be the important participants next to the cultic functionaries. The cultic functionaries, beside two SANGA-priestesses, include two KAR.KID-women, *alamzu*-men, and wolf-men. The language of the text certainly suggests an old Hittite date for the ritual. No deities are mentioned, however. Some wood is mentioned, and use is made of a knife. Fire is set to leaves and there is a door, or a gate. The activity of the priestesses is not clear.

F) The next text is a fragment from the KILAM-festival.⁸⁴⁴ KBo 23.91+KBo 34.15⁸⁴⁵. This fragment falls under the category of fragments parallel to the second and third tablets. The first column mentions different deities to which the INANNA lyre is being played. Some meat is presented by the cooks, and the king breaks some bread. On the obverse of the text the Storm-god of Zippalanda and the deity Hulla are mentioned as being worshiped by the king. The reverse column (iv') is as follows:

Translation

- 1] he puts [
- 2] the *mešedi*-man, two SANGA-priestesses, three SANGA-priests
- 3] *kalahi*-men, wolf-men
- 4⁸⁴⁶] they run in front.
- 5 The king goes. To the gate of the queen's house [
- 6 The AGRIG bows to the queen. *purpuru*-bread
- 7 he scatters.
- 8 three "army"-breads, two large thick breads, one *taḫaši* standi[ng]
- 9 [t] *aḫaši* of *marnuwan*-beer he bows [

⁸⁴⁴ The text was treated by Singer, *StBoT* 28: 28, as part of the KILAM-festival tablets.

⁸⁴⁵ This is a MH text.

⁸⁴⁶ Here joins KBo 34.15 rev.

- 10 The king goes to the gate of the house of the town Zalara [
- 11 Its [AGRI]G bows. *purpuru*-bread [
- 12 [he scatte]rs.
- 13]... the same way [
- 14 The king goes to the gate of the town Kaštu[wara
- 15 Its [AGRI]G bows. *purpuru*-bread he scatte[rs].
- 16] the same way [

Broken

Following Singer,⁸⁴⁷ the passage belongs to the description of the goods presented to the king and queen by different towns of the kingdom. It seems that the two SANGA-priestesses together with the *mešedi*-man and three SANGA-priests join other cultic functionaries, and they run in front to show the way to the king and queen. At each place that a gate is mentioned, *purpuru*-breads⁸⁴⁸ are scattered, either by the AGRIG at each station or by the cult functionaries. There seems to have been a custom which called for the scattering of this kind of breads before the king enters the gate of a town or a temple.⁸⁴⁹

In KBo 23.93, suggested as a possible copy belonging to the KILAM-festival,⁸⁵⁰ one ^{MUNUS}SANGA-priestess is mentioned next to wolf-men and *Kalah*-men (obv. ii 5'). Other functionaries in this fragment are *alamzu*-men, who are mentioned at the spring of the city Ḫalapiya staging a fight before the king, and a bodyguard. Also, the people of the city Ḫalapiya participate in this scene. The deities mentioned on the reverse of this tablet are ^dUTU, ^dMezzulla, ^dTelipinu, ^dIštar, and ^dZilipuri - mainly Ḫattian deities.

G) Other fragments of festivals also mention the SANGA-priestess in a similar cultic sphere, alongside similar functionaries. One is KUB 44.13 (CTH 650):⁸⁵¹ Obv. iii? 1-6

⁸⁴⁷ Singer, *StBoT* 27: 63.

⁸⁴⁸ The *purpuru*-breads are ball-shaped breads or cakes. See *CHD* P/3: 389.

⁸⁴⁹ Otten, *StBoT* 13: 25; See also below KUB 44.13. Usually it is done by the cult functionaries.

⁸⁵⁰ Singer, *StBoT* 27: 30.

⁸⁵¹ According to the *CHD* Š/1: 199^b, KBo 30.164 joins this tablet and therefore it has been ascribed to CTH 634.

The zintuḫi-women(pl.) scatter (sg.!) *purpuru*-breads and bow.
 The king enters the temple of the deity Zentuḫeš.⁸⁵²
 A SANGA-priest takes from the table the *purpuru*-breads.
 Then at the courtyard before the king he scatters them.
 7-14

Then he bows. Five breads, however,
 (and) one *tawal*-vessel stand in the courtyard.
 The king goes in, and he bows forward.
 The *alamzu*-man recites. The *kita*-man calls out.
 The king stands. The overseer of the bodyguards
 []. Two SANGA-priestesses []
 Broken

The script of this text is a late Hittite script, but the text describes an old tradition of the deity Zentuḫi. Since the two SANGA-priestesses appear at the end of the broken edge of the obverse of the tablet, one cannot precisely define their role, but we clearly see that they are participating in the ritual next to the king and the other cult functionaries: a (male) SANGA-priest, *zintuḫi*-women, *alamzu*-men, the cupbearer, and the table-man.

H) The second text KBo 9.132 (CTH 650) also mentions the SANGA-priestesses:

Obv. ii? and iii?

These two partial columns mention the king and the queen drinking the gods standing or sitting, while the *ḫaliyari*-singers sing with the INANNA lyre, the *palwatala*-woman cries out, and the *kita*-man calls out.

Rev. iv?

9' 2 LÚ^{MES} Û ? GAL DUB.SAR.[G]IŠ
 10' A-NA 3 MUNUS^{MES} SANGA 3 TÚG []
 11' 3 TA-PAL TU-TI-IT-TUM [K]Û.BABBAR
 12' pi-an-zi

13' EGIR-ŠU-ma-kán 3 TÚG^{MES} a[n-d]a
 14' ú-da-an-zi na-aš -šu []x
 15' A-NA 3 LÚ^{MES} SANGA pí-an-z[i]

Two men and a senior scribe
 to three SANGA-priestesses a cloth[]

⁸⁵² The deity Zintuḫi / Zentuḫi is a goddess, the daughter of the goddess Mezzula of Arinna. These two goddesses had temples devoted to them at Arinna. See Popko, *Religions*: 72, 75, 145 and also Gessel, *Onomasticon* 1: 587.

(and) three *TUTITUM*⁸⁵³ made of silver
 they give.

Afterwards, three garments of[]
 are brought in. And they give them[...]
 to three SANGA-priests.

The script of this tablet belongs to the New Hittite period (especially the signs DU, LI). In this text, as far as its broken state reveals, it seems that some garments are given first to the three SANGA-priestesses and then to the three SANGA-priests. We do not know which festival is celebrated.

I) In KUB 57.95 (CTH 651) there is a festival mentioning the *ḫazgara*-women and the priestess, who is said to be in a temple next to the king and another SANGA-priest.⁸⁵⁴

The tablet has the remains of four columns from what was a six column tablet. Only parts of the lower half of the front and some of the reverse are preserved. It bears a description of a festival in which the *alamzu*-man, the *kita*-man, and KAR.KID-women are in the temple of ^dParga, together with SANGA-priests. The king goes to several temples and bows to the gods. On obv. iii “1^{MUNUS} SANGA ŠA ^dMAḪ” appears on a broken section of the tablet, but there is no mention of what she does:

12' [LUGAL-uš] [I]-NA É ^dZu-lu-um-ma
 13' a-ri LÚ^{MES} SANGA a-ra-an-da
 14' ŠA.[BA] 1^{LU} SANGA ^dZu-lu-um-[ma]
 15' 1^{MUNUS} SANG[A] ŠA ^dMAḪ

The king arrives [a]t the temple of Zulumma.

The SANGA-priests are standing,
 am[ong] them one SANGA-priest of the deity Zulumma
 and one [SAN]GA-[pries]tess of the Mother-goddess.

Here the priestess serves the deity Mother-goddess, obviously a female deity. Otten, in his above mentioned article, emphasizes the Hattic origin of this ritual in light of the festival celebrated to

⁸⁵³ *TUTITUM*- may be the word *tutiwe*- (a “piece of armor”) mentioned in a Nuzi text, See CDA: 414.

⁸⁵⁴ Otten (1949) 174-184.

the deity Titiwatti.⁸⁵⁵

J) KBo 8.122 rev. 8'-11' and KBo 23.82 1'-7', two fragments of an unknown festival, mention two SANGA-priestesses among a list of other functionaries; they are situated next to a *huwaši*-stone:

2 LÚ^{MES} GUDU₁₂
 [LÚ]^{LU} kita
 3 LÚ^{MES} KASAL.LUH (=outer courtyard purifiers)
 2 MUNUS^{MES} SANGA
 LÚ HUB.BI

K) In KUB 52.95 the SANGA-priestess belongs to the Storm-god, and she runs in front of the king together with a SANGA-priest of the deity Hulla:

Obv. i

1	LÚ ^{MES} da-ḫa-zi-us	The <i>daḫazi</i> -men
2	A-NA DINGIR ^{LIM} UŠ-KI-EN-NU	bow to the deity
3	ta-at ti-an-zi	and they put it.
4	LUGAL-uš (erasure) ar-ta	The king stands.
<hr/>		
5	MUNUS SANGA dU A-NA LUGAL	The SANGA-priestess of the Storm-god
6	EGIR-an ḫu-u-ḫa-a-i	runs behind the king
7	na-an LÚ SANGA dḪu-ul-la ⁸⁵⁶	The SANGA-priest of the deity Hulla
8	ŠU-za e-ep-zi	takes him/her? ⁸⁵⁷ by the hand
9	na-an l-kán GUNNI EGIR-an ar-ḫa	And behind the hearth
10	[] x-zi	[.....] him (=the deity?).

This fragment shows New Hittite script. The priestess is performing in the presence of the king, apparently both inside and outside of the temple. It may be pointed out here that, in several cases, the rituals in which the SANGA-priestesses participate take place in relation to the gates. Also noteworthy here is the fact that the priestess is associated with the (male) Storm-god.

L) KBo 20.113 (CTH 706) is a four column tablet of which column ii and iii mention the SANGA-priestesses.

⁸⁵⁵ Otten, *ibid.*, pp. 181-182.

⁸⁵⁶ Gessel, *Onomasticon* 1: 157 LÚ SANGA dḪulla also in KBo 23.106 rev. 14. Hulla is a mountain deity who belongs to the cult of Arinna. Popko, *Religions*: 113; *RGTC* 6/1: 35 (Arinna).

⁸⁵⁷ Compare *CHD* Š/1: 199. Starke, *StBoT* 31: 207 n. 677.

Col. i

This column describes sacrifices of livers and hearts, as well as breads, to a list of deities.

Col. ii

1'-4' playing the musical instrument the *galgalturi*.

6' [] ŠA dḪé-pát BI-IB-RA da-a-i[
 7' [] A-NA LÚ SANGA dIŠKUR pa-a-i na-an-kán[
 8' [ar-ḫ]a a-ar-ri na-an-kán IŠ-TU KAŠ GĒSTIN[
 9' [n]a-an-kán MUNUS SANGA A-NA dḪé-pát A-NA UZ[U

10' [EG]IR-an-da-ma-kán ŠA dḪé-pát dTu-u-ḫ[a-ša-il?]
 11' [B]I-IB-RA KI.MIN EGIR-an-da-ma-kán ŠA [
 12' dDa-a-ki-tu₄ KI.MIN EGIR-an-da-ma-kán [ŠA
 13' dḪu-te-el-lu-úr-ra⁸⁵⁸ BI-IB-RA [KI.MIN
 14' EGIR-an-da-ma-kán ŠA dIštar d[Ninatta?]-
 15' dKu-li-it-ta URU Ni-nu-ḫa-ḫa₁ [
 16' dKu-li-it-ta BI-IB-RA [

17' ku-it-ma-an-kan ku-u-uš x[
 18' gal-gal-tu-ri-ma ha-az-zi-[

19' ma-aḫ-ḫa-an-ma MUNUS SANGA d[
 20' zi-in-na-i nu gal-ga[l-tu-ri
 21' nu[]x
 22' x[

Broken

1'-4' playing the musical instrument the *galgalturi*.

6' [] the BIBRU-vessel of the goddess Hepat he takes [
 7' [] he gives to the SANGA-priest of the Storm-god. And it (=vessel)
 []
 8' he washes (off). [He fills?] it with beer and wine [
 9' [and] the SANGA-priestess to the goddess Hepat, on the meat [places?] it.

10' [A]fterwards, of the deities Hepat (and) Tuḫ[ašail ?]
 11' [the B]IBRU-vessel ditto. Afterwards, of the [deity]
 12' the deity Dakitu, ditto. Afterwards [the deity Hutena
 13' (and) the deity Hutellurra's vessel [ditto.
 14']Afterwards Ištar's and DN [vessel
 15' Kulitta of Nineveh[
 16' Kulitta's vessel [

⁸⁵⁸ Gessel, *Onomasticon* 1: 166.

- 17' When those [deities?
 18' [they] play the *galgalturi*.

 19' When, however, the SANGA-priestess of the deity [Ḫepat?
 20' finishes, the *galga*[*lturi*

Col. iii

- x+1 [n]u? 2 ^{MUNUS}SANGA x[Two SANGA-priestesses[
 2' nu ^{LÚ}SANGA ^dISKUR ^{NINDA}a-a-an x[The SANGA-priest of the
 3' ku-e pár-ši-ja-an-na-i na-aš-ta x[Storm-god warm bread[
 4' ka-az-mi-da pár-ši-ja-az-zi pár-šu[which he keeps breaking,[
 5' ^{UZU}ku-ú-tar da-a-i na-at-ša-an x[the *kazmida*-breads he
 crumbles. Cru[mbs
 the arm meat he takes, and
 it [

In the continuation the priestess is not mentioned again, the deities are being toasted, and bread is being crumbled and placed on the altar.

In many cases the SANGA-priestess appears in a group of two, or once even three, priestesses. In this text we encounter one SANGA-priestess serving the goddess Ḫepat, and then two SANGA-priestesses officiating next to a SANGA-priest of the Storm-god. This text does not seem to belong to the old Anatolian tradition, but rather to the Ḫurrian tradition. Its script shows a few New Hittite signs, which may date this tablet to the Empire Period.

M) The last texts to be mentioned here in relation to the SANGA-priestess are KBo 24.73 and KUB 25.44 (CTH 704). The first one is a fragment relating to offerings, and the priestess is mentioned thus:

- 3] ^{MUNUS}SANGA 1 GAL GUŠKIN[
 4] EGIR-pa iš-ta-na-[ni da-a-i
]The SANGA-priestess one golden cup[
] behind the alta[r she places]

Then follows a description of meat and bread for the sacrifice. The priestess here is participating in the ritual inside a temple and she places a golden cup for the deity behind the altar.

In KUB 25.44 two priests officiate: a SANGA-priestess of the goddess Ḫepat and a SANGA-priest of the Storm-god. This ritual is reminiscent of the ritual KBo 20.113 (for which see above

5.1.3 p. 328). On col. ii² of KUB 25.44, after 20 lines of a list of deities who are being toasted and for whom bread is being crumbled, come lines 23'-26':

- 23 nu ^{MUNUS}SANGA ^dḫé-pát ^Ú ^{LÚ}SANGA ^dU ša-ra-a ti-an-zi
 24 na-at *UŠ-KI-EN-NU* na-at-kán pa-ra-a pa-a-an-[zi]

 25 ma-aḫ-ḫa-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

The SANGA-priestess of Ḫepat and the SANGA-priest of the Storm-god step up. Then they bow and they go forth. When, however, it becomes night, then the SANGA-priest of the Storm-god with beer to the underworld deity libates.

In the continuation it seems that the two priests are working together. They perform different kinds of libations and burning, which seem to be of a magical kind.

Line 27: "(to) Ḫepat s/he libates, one billy-goat in front of the underworld deity is burned. They take up the ashes, and they strew them about. Where they strew them is of no importance". Next, the king and queen go down to the temple of the Storm-god of Ḫatti, to where different animals are brought as sacrificial offerings to the Storm-god. The tablet breaks off here, so the rest of the ritual is not known.

The role of the two priests seems to be one of cleansing from evil, sacrificing to the heavenly goddess Ḫepat on the one hand, and to the underworld deities on the other.

This composition, according to the script of KBo 24.73, dates back to the Middle Hittite Period.

5.1.4 Concluding remarks on the roles and status of the SANGA-priestess

Summing up the data presented on the class of the SANGA-priestesses, it can be said that this group of priestesses took active part in the state cult, in the main centers of the cult of ancient Anatolia during the days of the Hittite Kingdom.

All the texts presented deal with cult rituals in which the priestess participates. The deities mentioned are mainly female deities, as seen in the Titiwatti-festival, the festival for a prince with the goddess Kataḫḫa, the festival worshiping the goddess Zintuḫi, as well as the one for the goddess Ḫepat. Quite interesting

is the fact that the Arinna circle of deities are most prominent in these texts, including the Storm-god, Mezzulla, Zintuḫi, and Ḫulla.⁸⁵⁹ In fact, the majority of the texts point to a Ḫattian tradition, with the rituals including songs in the Ḫattic language (KBo 24.85, KBo 23.97).

This may point to the ancient Anatolian origin of the SANGA-priestess office. The deities mentioned in the texts belong mostly to the Ḫattian tradition: Ḫalki, Telipinu, Kataḫḫa, Titiwatti, Storm-god, Sun-goddess, Mezzulla, Zilipuri. The priestess, though, is also mentioned in a ritual performed to the Ḫurrian deities Tešsub and Ḫepat in KUB 25.44 and KBo 20.113.

In several cases the tablets can be dated back to the Middle Hittite period. In other cases the date of the compositions is not clear even when the tablets have a New Hittite script, for it seems that the rituals are older ones.⁸⁶⁰

Regarding the status of the SANGA-priestess, it can be said that since she belongs to the official cult, she is often mentioned during rituals together with the king, and sometimes also with the queen. In one text (KBo 25.14 i 7') dignitaries are mentioned after two SANGA-priestesses. She may function with other priestesses or as a single priestess next to a male priest. Other high officials mentioned are the high priests, such as in KUB 20.88 (5.1.3 p. 320) where, on col. i, senior priests are indicated. Other priests are associated with the main deities, such as the Storm-god and the god Telipinu. From the descriptions of the rituals it seems that there is a need for male and female priests. Each priestess to a certain deity has beside her a male priest to the same deity.

The SANGA-priestess is always an integral participant in the rituals, and in one ritual a group of priestesses receives a certain garment while, similarly, a group of male priests receives other garments (5.1.3 pp. 326-327).

On the other hand, we rarely encounter an indication for

⁸⁵⁹ Haas (1994) 426.

⁸⁶⁰ Can the use of the "SANGA-priestess" term during the Empire period, instead of the well-known "AMA.DINGIR-priestess", hint at an attempt to give the new tradition (the North Syrian one) an ancient flavor? This may be connected with the "religious reform" conducted by Queen Puduḫepa, who was apt to give the new rituals she introduced the guise of ancient tradition. See the case of the *hišuwā*-festival, Popko, *Religions*: 150-151; Haas (1994) 848-875.

class division within the group of SANGA-priestesses like there is in the male group, where we find senior (GAL) priests and junior (TUR) priests. Of all the texts only once do we find ^{MUNUS}SANGA.GAL (KUB 34.128). We do encounter, however, the DUMU ^{MUNUS}SANGA, "child of SANGA-priestess" (KBo 24.85 i 6'), who may be considered a daughter or a son of a SANGA-priestess. With this idea in mind, one has to ask about the familial status of the priestess. The texts so far studied never mention a spouse, but his existence can be surmised from the mention of a child. Considering the rituals involved, I would assume that this child is a daughter, though one expects the text to have DUMU.MUNUS ^{MUNUS}SANGA in such case. But as explained earlier, I believe that "child" can be interpreted as a daughter, and not necessarily a son. The priestess introduces her female descendents to her office. This also means that the priesthood office could have been hereditary.

The KAR.KID-women are an important group of female participants in some of the rituals studied above. So, for example, in the festival to the deity Titiwatti, where the overseer of the KAR.KID-women acts alongside the SANGA-priestess of Titiwatti. The KAR.KID-women also appear in KBo 25.14 and KUB 57.95 and they seem to belong to the Ḫattian tradition, if viewed in light of the "festival of procreation", IBoT 1.29 (5.2.2 below p. 352).

What is the activity that the SANGA-priestess fulfills? According to these texts she walks with the king, or runs in front of him. She may welcome the king on his arrival. She participates in the rituals inside the temple by drinking and by placing the meat in front of the deity; once she is mentioned placing a cup of gold behind the altar (KUB 24.37). She is not described as washing or dressing the gods, nor is she said to cook the food.

Another question arises regarding the gender of the SANGA Sumerogram. The texts distinguish between LÚ ("male") and MUNUS ("female"), but can it be that when a group of SANGA-priests male and female perform together, the scribe might write LÚ^{MES} SANGA? Since the texts do distinguish between LÚ^{MES} and MUNUS^{MES} I prefer to adhere to the scribes' gender indications. But we must keep this possibility in mind.

Behind the male SANGA Sumerogram stands the Hittite word *šankunni-*, but what is the Hittite word for the female SANGA? The only occurrence of a complement to this noun is on KBo 23.97

obv. 15: ^{MUNUS}SANGA-ša. This is not enough to learn definitively of her Hittite name.⁸⁶¹

Since a number of texts mentioning the ^{MUNUS}SANGA point to at least the Middle Hittite period, and since she is clearly affiliated with the main centers of the old Anatolian tradition, she seems to represent the female priesthood of the older stratum of Hittite religion. This must be compared with the usage of the more common title for the female priesthood, the ^{MUNUS}AMA.DINGIR^{LIM}, which will be presented in the following sub-chapter.⁸⁶²

⁸⁶¹ It can be either SANGA-š (nom.sg) + a (=old Hittite non-geminating -a) or SANGA-š (nom.sg) + a ("and").

⁸⁶² See concluding remarks on the two priestesses under 5.2.5 p. 367-368.