

5.2 THE AMA.DINGIR-PRIESTESS

5.2.1 Introduction

The group of priestesses designated with the term AMA.DINGIR was seen in Chapter 2 as a category of female functionaries mentioned whenever the priesthood is under discussion, either in the official or the local cult. In order to see more clearly the functions and roles of these priestesses, as well as their status, a wider survey of the texts will be presented in this chapter. The presentation will be organized around the following questions:

- In which kinds of texts do the priestesses appear?
- In what period do these texts originate?
- What functions do the priestesses fulfil within the cult ?
- Are the priestesses related to a specific deity?
- What are the priestesses' duties vis-à-vis the male priests?
- Can the priestesses' status within the priesthood be determined?

As was already realized in Chapter 2, the AMA.DINGIR-priestesses, the main class of female functionaries in the Hittite texts, are mentioned mainly in contexts of a cultic nature: the majority are festivals and cult inventories, but there are also other kinds of texts, such as prayers. The texts to be presented under these categories are:

Festivals:

AN.TAḪ.ŠUM-festival (KUB 25.1 -CTH 612; KBo 11.46 - CTH 616).

KI.LAM-festival (KBo 11.38 - CTH 627).

Festival celebrated by a prince (KUB 25.36 - CTH 647).

Festival celebrated by a prince in Kaštama (KUB 20.80 - CTH 647).

Festival of the cult of Nerik (KBo 21.79 - CTH 678).

Festivals in Zippalanda (KBo 17.100 - CTH 635; KBo 11.50, KUB 41.46 and KUB 41.41 -CTH 592).

Fragments of festivals (KBo 11.29, KBo 25.68 - CTH 670; KUB 25.30 - CTH 690; KBo 25.59).

Cult inventories:

KBo 2.8 (CTH 519).

KBo 12.56 (CTH 521).

KBo 13.252 (CTH 530).

KUB 12.2 (CTH 511).

KUB 38.1 (CTH 501).

VBoT 83 (CTH 521).

Royal prayers:

- CTH 71 - A royal prayer regarding the dethronement of the queen *Tawananna*, the Babylonian princess wife of Šuppiluliuma I who was accused by Muršili II of causing the death of his beloved wife Gaššulawiya.

- CTH 383 - A royal prayer of Hattušili III and Puduḫepa regarding the banishment of the queen Danuḫepa wife of Muršili II, who was accused and put on trial by the king Muwatalli II for acting against him.

The texts come from different periods of the Hittite kingdom, and as is common with Hittite material there are later copies of older tablets for some texts. Among the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM-festival texts, the earlier copies go back to the 14th century BCE.⁸⁶³ In the case of the KILAM-festival there is an old Hittite tablet for this festival, and other, Late Hittite, copies.⁸⁶⁴ Moreover, the fragments of festivals mentioning the queen and the prince are also those which show Old Hittite language. On the other hand, most of the cult inventories are written in the new script of the 13th century BCE and originated in that same period. The texts presented in Chapter 2 that mention the AMA.DINGIR-priestesses are from the Middle Kingdom up to the Empire period. As will be shown later, the office of this priestess is an old one, with roots in the old Anatolian traditions.

5.2.2 The AMA.DINGIR-priestess: Functions in festival texts

In the festivals the AMA.DINGIR-priestess is often described in terms of a group of two priestesses, or is simply written in the plural, MUNUS^{MES}; however, she also appears as a single person.

A) KBo 17.100 is a text which mentions the town of Zippalanda, one of the major cult centers around Hattuša.⁸⁶⁵ The ritual it describes must have belonged to the large-scale old Hittite cultic rituals

⁸⁶³ Haas (1994) 774 note 17.

⁸⁶⁴ Singer, *StBoT* 27: 67-70.

⁸⁶⁵ KBo 17.100 Rev. iv. This column, which is quite fragmentary, describes quantities of birds, breads, cheese, and beverage placed for sacrifice. Its importance lies in its reference to the town where the activity takes place, Zippalanda (line 12'). The broken colophon reads as follows:

11'	DUB 1 KAM UD 4 KAM	ma-a-[an	Tablet no. 1 of the fourth day when[
12'	URU	Zi-ip-pa-la-an-di [to the town Zippalanda [
13'	Ú-UL QA-TI [Not finished.

since the king participates in it and it lasts for four days.⁸⁶⁶ Following is a passage of the text from col. i, where the AMA.DINGIR-priestesses are mentioned.

Obv. i

1	[?]-NA UD 4 KAM	ma-a-an lu-uk-[kat-ta É ḫa-le-en-tu-u-ua]
2	ḫa-aš-ša-an-zi KUS	NIG.BAR-an uš-[ši-an-zi UDU ^{BLA}]
3	ka-li-li-an-te-eš	ne lu-ú ¹ ?-[li-ja-aš še-er]
4	ki-an-da 2 MUNUS ^{MES}	AMA.DINGIR ^{LIM} lu-ú-[li-ja-aš še-er]
5	a-ša-an-zi LUGAL-uš	ku-ua-pí-i[t
6	kat-ti-iš-ši-ma GAL ^{BLA}	DINGIR ^{LIM} k[i-an-da]

7	ma-a-an LU ^{MES} GIŠ	BANŠUR NINDA ḫar-ša-u[š
8	2 MUNUS ^{MES}	AMA.DINGIR ^{LIM} a-ap-pí-an-zi x[
9	pí-ra-an ti-en-zi LU	ḫar-ta-ga[-aš-ša
10	ar-ta ša-ap-pa-ra-aš	TUG.GÜ.È[A
11	ša-ap-pa-ra-aš iš-te-e-pa-an	ši-[
12	ki-e lu-ú-li-ja-aš	še-er ḫa-an-d[a-an-te-eš
13	1 UDU UGULA LU ^{MES}	SIPA pa-a-i xxxx[
14	ḫu-u-kán-z[i]	

On the 4th day when it da[wns the ḫalentuwa-house]
they open. The curtains [they] unveil [The sheep]
are bound. They are placed [over/at the] sp[ring]
two AMA.DINGIR-priestesses over/at the sp[ring]
are seated. Where the king[
by him, however, the deity's cups [are s]et.

When the table-men thick breads [
the two AMA.DINGIR-priestesses finish [
They step in front. The Bear-man [too
stands. A šappara-shirt[
the ištepa- of the šappara ?]
These [are being] arran[ged] over/at the spring[
one sheep the supervisor of the shepherds gives]
They slaughter.

Though it is not so clear what the priestesses are doing in the ritual besides sitting and watching the activity, it is important to note that the ritual takes place at a spring, where animals are brought to be sacrificed. The ritual is conducted in the presence of the king, which shows it to be part of the state cult. An interesting parallel arises with two other rituals; one is part of the KILAM-

⁸⁶⁶ Popko, *Theth* 21: 138-139.

festival, which will be presented next, and the other is the festival for the goddess Titiwatti (CTH 639) studied above (5.1.3 p. 317).

B) In KUB 2.3, which Singer suggested as a possible fifteenth tablet of the KILAM-festival,⁸⁶⁷ we find a ritual that takes place after the “great assembly” is finished.⁸⁶⁸ After the king leaves the tent where the great assembly has taken place he watches a bathing ritual (KUB 2.3 ii 11-31).⁸⁶⁹

Col. ii

11 When the king comes out of the tent
12 he takes a stand.
13 Next to the hearth in a *marnuwan*-basin
14 two *alamzu*-men
15 naked, are squatting
16 in the basin

17 The AMA.DINGIR-priestess of the deity Titiutti⁸⁷⁰
18 (and) the overseer of the KAR.KID-women run
19 three times to the *marnuwan*-basin

20 The overseer of the KAR.KID-women holds a wooden dagger.
21 In front of her the SANGA-priest⁸⁷¹ of the deity Titiutti
22 is running. The SANGA-priest holds a staff
23 in front of it *šappareš*
24 are tied.

25 On the back of the *alamzu*-men
26 he pours *marnuwan*-beer
27 three times.

28 The *alamzu*-men rise from the basin
29 The horn,

⁸⁶⁷ Singer, *StBoT* 27: 70-71.

⁸⁶⁸ During the great assembly, the different deities are being honored by drinking and breaking bread for them.

⁸⁶⁹ Singer's transliteration in *StBoT* 28: 64.

⁸⁷⁰ The deity Titiutti is the same as Titiwatti, celebrated (as mentioned above) as a female deity in CTH 639. In the old tradition of the festival of Titiutti there is a mention of ^{MUNUS}SANGA and a ^{LU}SANGA, while in the KILAM festival we have ^{MUNUS}AMA.DINGIR^{LIM} and a ^{LU}SANGA. We suggest that this points to a later usage of the priestly title ^{MUNUS}AMA.DINGIR^{LIM} instead of the title ^{MUNUS}SANGA for the same priestess's office (below 5.2.5 p. 367).

⁸⁷¹ Singer suggested here to read “priestess”, since along the text appears a female priestess of the goddess Titiwatti.

30 three times they blow

31 Then, they go.⁸⁷²

The king then goes to the *huwaši* of the Storm-god and pays homage. He drinks in honor of different gods. As for the cult participants, the *haliyari*-men sing and play the musical instrument, the *alamzu*-man recites, the *palwatalla*-man cries out and the *kita*-man calls out. And then the princes appear. The column ends at this point.

In this scene the AMA.DINGIR is a priestess of a specific deity, Titiutti/Titiwatti. She is a single priestess in this case and performs together with the overseer of the KAR.KID-women, running to the basin. This ritual looks like a fertility rite, since the men are naked and squatting in some beverage identified as beer, and the priestess runs towards them. The wooden dagger may function as a phallic symbol. The end of the ritual is marked by blowing a horn. It needs to be noted that next to the priestess of the goddess Titiwatti there is a SANGA-priest, who performs after the priestess. They may be regarded as the male and female servants of the deity.

Another ritual mentioning the participation of a priestess of the deity Titiwatti who in this case is named ^{MUNUS}SANGA, together with a male priest of this deity, was discussed above (KBo 23.97 obv. i 5.1.3 p. 317). This ritual also ends with the blowing of the horn. We understand that it takes place outside the city, but whether near the spring we do not know. In the KILAM-festival the king was present and observed the ritual, while in this text the king is not mentioned. The beginning of the song of the KAR.KID-women mentions the king in the words: “[T]abarna katte”.

The ceremony in KBo 17.100 (5.2.2 pp. 336-337) takes place in Zippalanda, while the KILAM-festival of KUB 2.3 seems to take place in Hattuša⁸⁷³ and thus may also be a festival for the deity Titiwatti.⁸⁷⁴ It needs to be emphasized that the AMA.DINGIR-priestess in the KILAM-festival is also a priestess of the deity Titiwatti.⁸⁷⁵

⁸⁷² See Starke, *StBoT* 31: 401 n. 1446.

⁸⁷³ Singer, *StBoT* 27: 122.

⁸⁷⁴ The KÁ.GAL = “(city) gate” may refer to a gate in Hattuša.

⁸⁷⁵ In both KBo 17.100 (Zippalanda-festival) and KUB 2.3 (KILAM-festival) there is an object called *šapparra*-. In KUB 2.3 ii 22-24, the SANGA-priest of Titiwatti holds a staff in front of which the *šapparaš* are tied. Another copy has the word *šipanti*-. (See Singer, *StBoT* 27:79 n. 60). In KBo 17.100 i 10, the word relates to a kind of a shirt “the *šapparaš* TÚG.GÚ.È.[A]”.

The three festivals just discussed mention the AMA.DINGIR-priestess as belonging to the cult of the goddess Titiwatti.⁸⁷⁶ Titiwatti is clearly described as a goddess in KUB 38.14,⁸⁷⁷ and thus, the priestesses belong to a goddess cult. But as we saw, there is also a male SANGA-priest to this goddess (in KBo 23.97 i 6 and KUB 2.3 ii 21-22⁸⁷⁸) who, together with the priestesses, is a member of a group of cult functionaries performing the rituals prescribed. Most interesting is the participation of the KAR.KID-women with their overseer and their singing. The KAR.KID-women must be regarded as part of the cult personnel.

C) The AMA.DINGIR-priestess is mentioned in another passage of the KILAM-festival, describing activity that takes place during the preparations for the "great assembly": KBo 11.38, with parallels.⁸⁷⁹ The second column of this text describes a ceremony in which the following people participate alongside the king: the bodyguards, the table-man, the staff-bearer, and the purifier. They bring bread, which is broken in front of the dagger of the LAMMA-tutulary deity, and they stand before the hearth; then the palace attendants sit down across from the king. Next, sacred SANGA-priests of the towns of Arinna and Zippalanda with their cupbearers, and the *tazzelli*-men and their cupbearers carrying their cups, seat themselves in front of the king (lines 43-46). The staff-bearer goes forward and runs, first in front of the cook, who displays two kinds of meat: *kuzzaniyant* (fat?) and *ekunant*.⁸⁸⁰

Then come lines 48-55:

48 When, however, the cooks in front
49 put (it), they seat the sacred SANGA-priests
50 of Hattuša and the Lord of Hattuša
51 and the AMA.DINGIR-priestess of the deity Halki.

⁸⁷⁶ It has to be noted, though, that in KBo 17.100 and in KUB 2.3 the priestess is an AMA.DINGIR^{LIM}, whereas in KUB 23.97 she is called ^{MUNUS}SANGA.

⁸⁷⁷ See also Haas (1994) 503 n. 101.

⁸⁷⁸ In this text Singer (*StBoT* 27: 78, note 59) suggests that the male priest written ^{LIM}SANGA refers to the female priestess mentioned in the previous lines as ^{MUNUS}AMA.DINGIR^{LIM}. I prefer to go with the Hittite scribe, since in KBo 23.97 i 6 a male priest of Titiwatti clearly appears.

⁸⁷⁹ For the "great assembly" as the gathering of all high officials and cult functionaries, including the foreign diplomats, see Haas (1994) 679.

⁸⁸⁰ Singer, *StBoT* 27: 73 and 28: 56-61. See for *ekunant* meaning "cold" (as an adjective) in Starke, *StBoT* 31: 242 n. 838a.

Then the other participants - singers, musicians, the *alamzu*-men, the reciter, and the *palwatalla*-men - take their places. The staff-bearer runs in front of the *UBARU*-men and they too sit down. The ceremony continues, but the priestess is not mentioned again; this may be due to the fragmentary state of the tablets.

Important to note here is the fact that the priestess is a single figure. She appears alongside the sacred SANGA-priests (pl.), and the lord of the capital Hattuša. It is clearly stated that she is the priestess of the deity Halki, the grain deity, and is mentioned with no male counterpart dedicated to this deity. She, together with the sacred SANGA-priests and the Lord of Hatti, sit down after the cooks present meat to the gods.

D) Quite interestingly, this ritual, an important part of the KILAM-festival, is celebrated in almost the same way on the 16th day of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM-festival (KUB 25.1 - CTH 612.4), which includes the preparations for the "great assembly".⁸⁸¹ From this text we hear of the following preparations:

Col. i 16-26

16	nu LÚ ^{GIS} GIDRU pí-ra-an ḥu-u-ya-a-i	The staff-bearer runs in front
17	nu DUMU ^{MES} LUGAL a-ša-a-ši	and he seats the princes.

18	na-aš-ta LÚ ^{GIS} GIDRU pa-ra-a pa-iz-zi	The staff-bearer goes forth.
19	na-aš ŠA LÚ ^{MES} MU ḥa-an-te-iz-zi-ja-aš	In front of the first of
		the cooks
20	pí-ra-an ḥu-u-ya-a-i nu LÚ ^{MES} MU	he runs. The cooks
21	ḥa-an-te-iz-zi ti-ja-an-zi	step up in front.

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} Ḥa-at-ti ^{MUNUS} AMA.DINGIR ^{LIM} -ja	
25	ŠA É ^d Hal-ki pí-ra-an ḥu-u-ya-a-i	
26	[tu?]-Jušl a-ša-a-ši	

Only then, the staff-bearer goes forth.
In front of the sacred SANGA-priests,
the Lord of Hatti and the AMA.DINGIR-priestess
of the temple of the deity Halki he runs,
and he seats 'them'.

The next paragraph is too fragmentary.

⁸⁸¹ The idea that the large festivals of the autumn and the spring followed a similar outline is suggested by Houwink ten Cate (1986) 95-110.

As in KBo 11.83, the priestess is related to the temple of the deity Ḫalki, the deity of the grain. She must have been the head of the priestesses in this temple, since she sits down with the lord of Ḫatti and the sacred SANGA-priests. Earlier, the princes are led to their places by the staff-bearer. As indicated, the "great assembly" includes the high-ranking officials of the administration as well as of the cult. Since both festivals indicate the same order of seating at the "great assembly", it may suggest that this is the regular hierarchy - the lord of Ḫatti is accompanied by the sacred SANGA-priests and the AMA.DINGIR-priestess of the deity Ḫalki.

E) The AMA.DINGIR-priestess also appears on the 29th day of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM-festival. Here, too, she is identified as the AMA.DINGIR-priestess of the deity Ḫalki. KBo 11.46 is a six column tablet,⁸⁸² on col. i of which the name of the deity ZABABA is preserved. Column five includes a passage of a ritual, which describes the priestess as follows:

Rev. v

x+2	LÚ ^{GIS} GIDRU pī-ra-ṭa-l[The staff-bearer [runs] in front[
3'	ta DUMU ^{MES} LUGAL[and [seats] the princes
4'	LÚ ^{MES} MU ḫa-x[The co[ok]s [
5'	x[
6'	[]x-x [[].....[
7'	ṭḫu-l-u-ṭa-a-i na-aš-ta[he runs. Then[
8'	LÚ ^{MES} ḫal-li-ja-ri-eš LÚ [The ḫaliyari-men (and) the man of[
9'	an-da ú-ṭa-an-zi na-a[n	come in. Him?[
10'	pī-ra-an ti-ja-zi LÚ ALA[M.ZU ₉	steps in front. The ala[mzu-]man[
11'	LÚ ^{GIS} ki-i-ta-aš-ša LUGAL-i me-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-da	the kita-man, too, across from the king
12'	ti-ja-zi	takes a stand.
13'	ta LÚ ^{MES} MU TU ₇ A UZU.GU ₄ ti-an-zi	
14'	LÚ ^{GIS} GIDRU pī-ra-an ḫu-u-ṭa-a-i ta NAP-TA-NIM	
15'	LÚ ^{MES} SANGA.TUR ^{7/10} šu-up-pa-e-eš	

⁸⁸² Dup. KBo 45.26.

- 16' LÚ SANGA ŠA dU^{URU} Ḫa-la-ap
 17' MUNUS AMA.DINGIR^{LIM} <d>Ḫal-ki-aš LÚ^{MES} um-mi-ja-nu-tim
 18' [LÚ] SANGA¹ dLAMMA LÚ SANGA dA-x[]x-nim?

13'-18'

The cooks set "water soup" (and) ox meat.
 The staff-bearer runs in front, "A cultic banquet"⁸⁸³
 The junior sacred SANGA-priests
 The SANGA-priest of the Storm-god of Ḫalap
 The AMA.DINGIR-priestess of Ḫalki The specialists-
ummiyanu, the SANGA-priest of the Tutelary Deity, and the
 SANGA-priest of the deity A[
 Broken

The staff-bearer runs in front, leading the participants. The cooks are mentioned placing the meat, and the cult functionaries - the ḫaliyari-men, the *alamzu*-man, and the *kita*-man - sit across from the king. Next are mentioned the junior sacred SANGA-priests, the SANGA-priest of the Storm-god of Ḫalap, the AMA.DINGIR-priestess of the deity Ḫalki, a priest of the tutelary deity LAMMA, and one more priest whose deity's name is not preserved. The list continues but the text is broken. One thing is clear, however, from the list of participants mentioned together with the priestess: they are all male priests of the major deities, and the festival is one of the main state festivals that includes the participation of the king. Unfortunately, no cult activity is prescribed for the priestess or the other priests in this passage. It seems that they merely either stand or sit together with the king, and then they eat or drink.

F) Two other texts, belonging to the festivals celebrated in the cult center of the town Zippalanda, mention the AMA.DINGIR-priestess among other dignitaries. KBo 11.50 belongs with the festival texts related to the spring and autumn festivals of Zippalanda. The text was treated by Popko and its constitution, according to him, makes this tablet a main copy of CTH 592.2.⁸⁸⁴ A possible fragment of the first tablet is KUB 41.46, which also mentions the priestess.

In the first tablet the readable passages indicate the king's

⁸⁸³ Akkadian *naptanu*- ("meal time, cultic or royal 'banquet'"), CDA: 240. It may be that someone calls out this announcement.

⁸⁸⁴ Popko, *THeth* 21: 160-170. First tablet of the festival: A. KBo 11.50 B. KBo 22.194 C. Bo 4768 D. KBo 22.219 (colophon).

walk to the *huwaši*-stone and the fact that the *kurša*-bag⁸⁸⁵ is placed in front of it on the road. A GUDU-priest is mentioned, there is a vessel of silver filled with wine. The readable parts on the reverse side indicate a list of cult functionaries taking part in the rituals; it includes an AMA.DINGIR-priestess and the administrators of two towns whose names were preserved in the fragment (KUB 41.46, obv. ii 8'-11), all of whom bow to the king:⁸⁸⁶

MUNUS AMA.DINGIR^{LIM} LÚ SANGA ARAD^{MES} DINGIR^{LIM}
 LÚ AGRIG^{URU} A-an-ku-ya
 LÚ AGRIG^{URU} Sa-na-aḫ-ḫu-it-ta
 LUGAL-i UŠ-KI-EN-NU

The priestess (MUNUS AMA.DINGIR^{LIM}) and the priest (LÚ SANGA) are named ARAD^{MES} DINGIR^{LIM}, "the servants of the god". The ARAD^{MES} DINGIR^{LIM} can be taken as an appellative form directed to the priestess and the priest, as used, for example, in the prayer of Mušili II in KUB 14.14+ rev. 37. Since they stand together with the LÚ AGRIG, or "administrators", of two important cult centers, Ankuwa and Šanaḫḫuwita. The priests status should somehow be regarded as high as that of the administrators. It is interesting that the priestess is counted first. The four bow to the king, suggesting that this description could be of a reception for the king.

G) KUB 41.41, which according to Popko may also have belonged to the festivals of Zippalanda,⁸⁸⁷ mentions the AMA.DINGIR-priestess on col. v² 18'-21'. The scene takes place at the gate of the queen's palace in the town of Katapa. The king approaches the gate while singers sing in the Ḫattic language, the *alamzu*-man and the *kita*-man run in front of him, and as the king reaches the gate the *alamzu*-man calls out "aḫa" and the *kita*-man calls as well. At the gate a table was already set beforehand with a blue tablecloth(?) and something signifying the deity made of gold; over it *hurupi*-breads were placed:

18' NINDA ḫu-u-ru-pí-uš-ša ki-ja-[a]n-ta

⁸⁸⁵ For the *kurša*-bag as a cult object signifying the hunt, see Güterbock (1989) 113-119.

⁸⁸⁶ See Popko's restoration, *THeth* 21: 172.

⁸⁸⁷ Popko, *THeth* 21: 92. He assumes that this fragment is part of the *nuntarriyašḫa*-festival in Zippalanda. The text shows NH script.

19' ma-a-an-kán LUGAL-uš ḫa-an-da-a-[i]z-zi
 20' MUNUS AMA.DINGIR^{LIM} NINDA ḫu-u-ru-pí-uš
 21' LUGAL-i kat-ta-an iš-p[ár-r]a-a-i

 22' KÙ.[BABB]AR GUŠKIN-ja ša-ra-a [e-e]p-zi
 23' []x kat-ta da-a-i n[u] 4 NINDA.ÉRIN.MEŠ da-a-i
 (Traces. Then the tablet is broken)

hurupi-breads, too, are placed. When the king is ready, the AMA.DINGIR-priestess the *hurupi*-breads sp[rea]ds down at the king('s feet). The s[ilve]r² and the gold she holds up, []... she puts down, and she places four 'soldier' breads.

This scene situates the priestess together with the king at the gate of the queen's palace in the town of Katapa, when she welcomes him with *hurupi*-breads⁸⁸⁸ spread at his feet. Then she lifts up some object of silver and gold signifying the deity, after which she puts it back and places other breads next to it. The king is blessed with the bread and the sign of the deity. This act of spreading the *hurupi*-breads is also done by the cultic *ḫazgara*-women before the prince (KUB 20.80 iii 7-8 see next paragraph). Consistently, spreading the breads is done by the female cultic functionaries.⁸⁸⁹ It should be noted that the AMA.DINGIR-priestess in this text is not associated with a specific deity.

H) Two texts, both fragments of festivals, mention the AMA.DINGIR-priestess with the prince (DUMU.LUGAL); they are probably festivals celebrated for the crown prince.

I. The first of these texts (KUB 20.80) describes the 9th day of a festival celebrated for the prince in the town of Kaštama (CTH 647).⁸⁹⁰ The third column of the text mentions the priestess and other priests bowing to the king. It reads as follows:
 Col. iii?

-----[]
 1'+x lu-uk-kat-te-ma I-NA UD 9 KAM DUMU.LUGAL [?]
 2' I-NA^{URU} ta-aš-ta-ri-iš-ša LUGAL-un an-da []

⁸⁸⁸ See Hoffner, *AlHeth*: 163.

⁸⁸⁹ See also the festival of Zintuḫi, KUB 44.13, in the sub-chapter on the MUNUS SANGA (5.1.3 pp. 325-326 above).

⁸⁹⁰ See *RGTC* 6/1: 193-194. See also Haas (1988) 287 n. 20, and in addition Torri (2004) 466.

- 3' GIM-an-ma-aš-ša-[a]n LUGAL-uš^{URU}ta-aš-ta-r[i-iš-ša]
 4' da-a-i DUMU.LUGAL-ma-kán a-ap-pa A-NA DINGIR^{MES}UR[U?
 5' i-ja-u-ua-an-zi pa-ra-a na-a-i
-
- 6' ma-aḥ-ḥa-an-ma DUMU.LUGAL I-NA^{URU}kaš-ta-am-m[a]
 7' ma-ni-in-ku-u-ua-a-an a-ri ta-aš-ši MUNUS^{MES}ḥa-[az-ga-ra?]
 8' me-na-aḥ-ḥa-an-da ti-ja-zi^{NINDA}ḥu-ru-pí-iš-š[i]
 9' kat-ta-an iṣ-ḥu-ua-a-an-zi LÚ^{MES}SANGA-ši
 10' LÚ^{MES}GUDU₁₂ MUNUS^{MES}AMA.DINGIR-LIM-ja me-na-aḥ-ḥa-an-da
 []
 11' ta-at A-NA DUMU.LUGAL UŠ-KI-EN-NU
-
- 12' DUMU.LUGAL-kán URU-ri ša-ra-a pa-iz-zi
 13' ta-za^{TUG}ši-pa-ḥi-in ua-aš-ši-ja-az-zi
-
- 14' LÚSANGA dLAMMA-za^{KUŠ}gur-ša-an ŠA dLAMMA^{URU}kaš-ta-am-ma
 15' kar-ap-zi LÚkán-ti-ak'-ki-pí-is-ma-za
 16' G^{IS}GIDRU^{HLA}šu-ru-uḥ-ḥa-aš ŠA dZA.BA₄.BA₄ da-a-i
 17' LÚ^UGUDU₁₂-ma-za G^{IS}GIDRU^{HLA}dZa-li-ja-nu da-a-i
 18' LÚ^UMU DINGIR-LIM-ma-za 2 ta-pí-ša-nu-uš KÙ.BABBAR.[GE]ŠTIN
 19' [da-a]-i ta-a[t?] A-NA DUMU.LUGAL pí-ra-an ḥu-u-[ua-a]n-zi
-
- 20' too fragmentary
 Broken
-
- 1+x The next morning, on the 9th day, the prince [?]
 2' to the town of Taštariša the king [accompanies/brings]
-
- 3' When the king at the town of Taštari[ša....]
 4'-5' sets, he sends the prince back to celebrate the gods of
 the town [Kaštama?]
-
- 6' When the prince arrives near the town of Kaštama
 7' The ḥa[zgara]-women
 8' step in front of him, (and) ḥurupi-bread
 9' they scatter down f[or him]. The SANGA-priests
 10' the GUDU-priests and the AMA.DINGIR-priestesses are in front of
 [him].
 11' And they bow to the prince.
-
- 12' The prince goes up to the city
 13' (and) he puts on the šipahi-coat.⁸⁹¹
-

⁸⁹¹ For this passage see Haas (1994) 205 note 160. For the Hurrian origin of the word *šipahi* (coming from the Sumerian LÚ.SIPA, "shepherd"), see Haas (1994) 197 n. 95.

- 14' The SANGA-priest of the Tutelary Deity lifts up the hunting bag
 of the Tutelary Deity of the town of Kaštama,
 15' while the *kantikkipi*-man,
 16' takes the *šuruḥḥa*-staffs of the deity ZABABA.
 17' The GUDU-priest, however, takes the staffs of the deity Zaliyanu.
 18' The cook of the god, however, takes two *tapišana*-silver vessels of
 wine
 19' And they? run in front of the prince.
 Broken

The scene described here is a welcoming ceremony to the crown prince during a main festival celebrated at the town of Kaštama. Upon his arrival near the city he is welcomed by all three principal groups of its priesthood: SANGA-priests, GUDU-priests, and AMA.DINGIR-priestesses. The first to present him with bread are the *ḥazgara*-women, known as the group of cultic women described as singing for and entertaining the deity. The AMA.DINGIR-priestesses are again considered a main part of the priesthood of the town.

2. An interesting fragment which may relate to the aforementioned text is KUB 28.90. It mentions the prince with a^{MUNUS}AM[A.DINGIR^{LIM}] (restored) at the town of Kaštama, probably at the temple of the Storm-god of Kaštama. The beginning of the fragment may describe the prince's entrance into the temple, where he washes his hands. At the end of the fragment there are a few words in Hattic, probably in praise of the king ("katte"). The passage in KUB 28.90 reads:

Obv. i

- | | | |
|----|-----------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1' | DUMU-a[š?] | The pri[nce] |
| 2' | ^{MUNUS} AM[A.DINGIR ^{LIM}] | The AM[A.DINGIR]-priestess[|
| 3' | DUMU.LUGAL-aš[| The prince[|
| 4' | a-ar-ri [| washes[|
| 5' | ta-aš A-NA d?] | He, to the deity[|
-
- 6' DUMU.LUGAL 2 NINDA.GUR₄.RA pár-š[i]-i[]a
 7' A-NA dU^{URU}Kaš-ta-am-m[a
 8' 1 NINDA.GUR₄.RA I A-NA dḤal-ki[
 9' ta-za DUMU.LUGAL nam-ma x[
 10' ũi-i-en kat-te ũi-x[
-
- 11' [DUMU].LUGAL u-ut-[

The prince breaks two thick breads[
To the Storm-god of Kaštam[a
One thick bread to the deity Halki
The prince further, [
wien katte wi[

The [pr]ince[

3. KBo 21.79 is a fragment describing a festival for a prince mentioning a GUDU-priest of the Storm-god of Nerik. Again the AMA.DINGIR-priestesses appear beside the priests, walking in front of the prince. The picture seen at Kaštama in the previously mentioned text (5.2.2 p. 345), where the priest holds a sign of the deity, is repeated here:

Rev. iv

x+1 [] x x-ša x[

2' [] É ar-za-na-aš (erasure) ar-ḥa pa-a[n-zi]
3' [] x-ma-za LÚ KISAL.LUH ša-ra-a []
4' [] tú]ḥ-ḥu-u-uš-ta

5' [] x-ma-za I-NA UD 11 KAM
6' [] ŠA DINGIR LIM ua-aš-ša-pa-an ṽa-ši-i[a-zi]
7' [] x-kán IŠ-TU É ar-za-na-aš
8' [] x-zi LÚ [GUD]U₁₂ dU URU Ne-ri-ik
9' [] LÚ G₁₅ GIDRU⁸⁹² HLA dZa-li-ia-nu ḥar-[z]i
10' [LÚ] MES SANGA URU kaš-ta-ma-ma MUNUS MES AMA.DINGIR L¹ M
11' [] A-]NA PA-NI DUMU.LUGAL i-ja-an-ta-ri
12' [] E]GIR-ŠU MUNUS MES ŠIR ḥa-at-ti-li ŠIR^{RU}
13' [] G₁₅ BALAG.DI ṽa-al-aḥ-ḥi-iš-kán-zi

Broken

[] they leave the *arzana*-house
[] ... the sweeping-man, up [
[] is [f]inished.

[] ... on the 11th day
[] the garment of the deity he put[s on]
[] ... from the *arzana*-house
[] ... The GUDU-priest of the Storm-god of Nerik
[] the staffs] of the deity Zalianu holds
[] the SANGA-pri[es]ts of the town of Kaštama (and) the AMA.DINGIR-priestesses

⁸⁹² See Gessel, *Onomasticon* 1: 572 (+ KUB 20.80 iii 17).

[] in front of the prince proceed,
[] behind him the women sing a song in Hattic
[] the *balag.di* musical instrument they repeatedly beat.

This is a description of some kind of festival in which the prince participates. The mention of the *arzana*-house relates the festival to others involving this institution (such as the *ḥaššumaš*-festival), and also to the NIN.DINGIR, who goes in and out of this building.⁸⁹³ There is a procession from the *arzana*-house, in which the participants are the GUDU-priest of the Storm-god of Nerik, holding the scepters of the deity Zalianu, the SANGA-pri[es]ts of the town Kaštama, and the AMA.DINGIR-priestesses. They all go in front of the prince while the singers and the musicians walk behind him. The prince is wearing a garment of the deity. Compare this with the special *šipaḥi*-coat he wears at Kaštama (above p. 346).

I) Several festival fragments have the AMA.DINGIR mentioned in the context of a ritual.

I. On the obverse of KBo 11.29, a SANGA-priest and a GUDU-priest perform a ceremony with breads, while on the reverse side there is a sequence on slaughtering animals for the Storm-god, dŠulinkatte, and the goddess Kataḥḥa.⁸⁹⁴

Rev.

5' [] x EGIR-an ḥu-kán-zi
6' [] LÚ SA]NGA da-a-i 1 UDU
7' [] x dIŠKUR-ni ḥu-kán-zi GAL-is LÚ SANGA
8' [] [d] Šu-li-in-kat-ti ḥu-kán-zi
9' [] pí-ra-]an dŠu-li-in-kat-te da-a-i 1 UDU
10' [] x-ni [ḥ]u-kán-zi na-an-za MUNUS MES
DINGIR LIM! AMA!
11' [] [i] dKa-taḥ-ḥi-i ḥu-kán-zi
12' [] d] Ka-taḥ-ḥi-i da-a-i

[] ... they slaughter behind
the SA]NGA-priest places/takes. One sheep
[] ... to the Storm-god they slaughter. The cup of' the SANGA-priest
[] for the deity Šulinkatte they slaughter

⁸⁹³ For the *arzana*-house see Hoffner (1974) 113-121. Hoffner regards this institution as an inn for royalty as well as travelers and men from the nearby cities, since the *arzana*-house was built outside the walls of the city or into the city wall itself. He thinks this institution was a secular one, though some cultic activity took place there.

⁸⁹⁴ See Haas and Jakob-Rost (1984) 13. The tablet shows a NH script.

in front of] the deity Šulinkatte he places/takes. One sheep
] to xx they [slau]ghter. Then the AMA.DINGIR-priestesses him
]... for the deity Kataḥḥa they slaughter
] for/from the deity Kataḥḥa s/he places/takes.

In this passage a group of AMA.DINGIR-priestesses participate in a ceremony next to a SANGA-priest. They are mentioned when the sacrifice of the animal is made to the goddess Kataḥḥa.⁸⁹⁵ The other deity mentioned here is Šulinkatte, also of Ḫattic origin, the Anatolian counterpart of the Ḫurrian-Mesopotamian chthonic god Ner(i)gal.⁸⁹⁶ This ritual, too, shows contacts with the Ḫattic tradition.

2. KUB 25.36 was assigned to festivals mentioning the prince (CTH 647), but is shown by Haas to belong to the festivals of the town of Nerik.⁸⁹⁷ This tablet contains six columns describing ceremonies in which the king is the active sacrificer. Another town mentioned in the first column is Zaḥaluqqa (in the neighborhood of Nerik and Kaštama), where the sacrifice is probably to the Storm-god of the town according to Haas' restoration.⁸⁹⁸ In col. ii 9' AMA.DINGIR-priestesses are mentioned together with other cult participants:

8' Ū LÚ⁷ MU DINGIR^{LIM} A-NA LÚ^{MES} SANGA^{TIM} ḥu-u-ma-an-d[a-aš]
 9' A-NA LÚ^{MES} URU⁷ ḥu-ur-ša-ma MUNUS^{MES} AMA.DINGIR^{LIM}
 10' ḥa-az-ga-ra-ja-aš pa-an-ga-u-e TU⁷ UZU pat-tal-qa-an
 11' NINDA^{BLA} pār-šu-ul-li (erasure) pí-an-zi

And the cooks? of the god to all the priesthood
 (and) to the men of the town Ḫuršama, the AMA.DINGIR-priestesses
 and the ḥazgara-(women), at the assembly, they give
 unsalted stew (and) crumbled bread.

12' LUGAL-i a-ku-qa-an-na mar-nu-an pí-an-zi
 13' A-NA LÚ^{MES} SANGA LÚ^{MES} URU⁷ ḥu-ur-ša-ma (erasure)
 14' pa-an-ga-u-e-ja mar-nu-an-da-aš^{DUG} ta-ḥa-kap-pí-uš (erasure)
 15' ŠA GESTIN^{DUG} ta-ḥa-kap-pí-uš pí-an-zi
 16' ta a-ku-qa-an-zi

They give the king to drink *marnuwan* (-beverage)
 To the SANGA-priests (and) the people of the town Ḫuršama
 to all, indeed, a *tahakappi*-vessels of *marnuwan*

⁸⁹⁵ Kataḥḥa is a proto-Ḫattian goddess named "queen"; Otten, *StBoT* 13: 46.

⁸⁹⁶ Popko, *Religions*: 94, 100.

⁸⁹⁷ Haas (1970) 198-213. Klinger, *StBoT* 37: 252, indicates its MH script.

⁸⁹⁸ *RGTC* 6/1: 487.

(and) *tahakappi*-vessels of wine they give.
 And they drink.

Next only the cupbearer is named with the king. Then comes a long ceremony of drinking and eating meat, with the participation of the SANGA-priest of the Storm-god of Zaḥaluqqa,⁸⁹⁹ the SANGA-priest of the deity Ḫalipinu, and a GUDU-priest who is in charge of the distribution of the meat to the participants.

The priestesses are said to receive meat during the ceremony, together with the other functionaries. This means they are taking part in the worship of the gods. They are not serving the food, but are receiving it. The other people mentioned next to them are the priesthood of the SANGA, the *ḥazgara*-women, and the people of the town Ḫuršama who, according to KUB 10.88 vi 2'-12', are a group of cult singers.⁹⁰⁰ It should be noted that the priestesses are named after the singers, not following the SANGA-priests. Perhaps the writer divides the participants into male and female groups. This division continues in the next paragraph where the male priests and singers receive *marnuwan* to drink, while the priestesses and the female dancers are not mentioned. They probably do not receive a drink here.

3. A small fragment describing a festival to the deity Ḫuwaššanna, KUB 25.30 also mentions the AMA.DINGIR-priestess. This goddess is an important Luwian deity, one of many Luwian Mother-goddesses.⁹⁰¹ The fragment tells of different festivals celebrated to the deity, and in most cases the temple of the deity provides for the festival. At the end of the fragment the AMA.DINGIR-priestess is mentioned in a broken context.

Another fragment is KBo 25.59 where, again in a broken context, "two? AMA.DINGIR-priestesses" are mentioned. The fragment names the deities Nerak, Ziliuari, Ningal, and ZABABA in the context of a ceremony that involves the *palwatalla*-women as well.

J) In relatively few texts the term *šiwanzanna* is used for the priestess, rather than ^{MUNUS}AMA.DINGIR^{LIM}. It appears in the ICBG (2.3 above p. 11). What follows are three more festival texts that

⁸⁹⁹ For this deity in relation to Nerik see Haas (1994) 600-601.

⁹⁰⁰ *RGTC* 6/1: 128.

⁹⁰¹ Popko, *Religions*: 94.

use the form *šiwanzanna*.

1. IBoT 1.29⁹⁰² prescribes a long festival for a prince in which the *šiwanzanna*-priestess is mentioned among other functionaries of the cult. In this festival the prince eats and drinks together with twelve SANGA-priests who sit down in front of him. Among the priests one priestess is mentioned. They eat twice, one time in the cookhouse, and once in the house of the *ABUŠŠI*.⁹⁰³ The first line tells us this about the festival: "When [in Hattuša to the goddess Kataḫḫa the festival of pro[creation] they celebrate." Thus it is dedicated to the goddess Kataḫḫa, a Hattic goddess. It seems that the number twelve is especially important in this festival. There are twelve priests, then there are twelve deities to whom the prince libates. There are twelve farmers, and at the end there are twelve KAR.KID-women. This number may be related to the 12 months of the year, and so what we may have here is a "whole year" blessing for the prince. The priestess is one among the twelve priestly officials, and she is not mentioned as being affiliated to a specific deity. The passages relating to the priestess are as follows:

Obv. 54-59

There is a call to eat in the kitchen. Then they put *šaramna*-bread on the tables of the SANGA-priests, (and) one *uageššar*-bread they put on the table of the prince. One *uageššar*-bread, however, they break. Then on the table of the *tazelli*-priest one *uageššar*-bread, (on) the table [of the], one *uageššar* bread, (on) the table of the *šiwanzanna*-priestess, one *uageššar*-bread, on the table of the *ḫa[mena]*?⁹⁰⁴-man. [thus] six warm breads, thirty *LABGA*-breads, thirty barley breads, ten thick breads[].

Rev. 10'-16'

[the] tables they place. Five *uageššar*-breads [they break?] one? [*uag[e]ššar*-bread on the table of the prince, one *uageššar*-bread on [the table of] one *tazielli*-priest, one *uag*-bread on the table of a *šiwanzan[na]*-priestess] one *uag*-bread on the table of the chamberlain. Thirty *LABKU*-breads, twelve *ta[karmu]*-breads, one vessel of beer, one vessel of *marnuan*. To everyone [they give?] a part and they give to drink.

⁹⁰² Güterbock (1969) 99-103. For the current state of the text (probably of MH provenance) and its NH duplicates, see Košak, *HPM konkordanz*: CTH 633 = A. IBoT 1.29 . B KUB 51.57 +KBo 45.52. C. 556/u D. 141/s (Ünal, *JNES* 49 (1990) 358=KBo 45.51) E. Bo 3228.

⁹⁰³ Meaning "storehouse, storeroom". See HW² A: 192^b and also Puhvel, *HED* 1: 102-103.

⁹⁰⁴ For this restoration see Goetze (1947) 84.

In this text the AMA.DINGIR-priestess is named in Hittite: *šiwanzanna*. She has an integral part among the other cult personnel, and she is the only one among them identified as a female.

2. KBo 20.16 is an Old Hittite text mentioning the *šiwanzanna*.⁹⁰⁵

Obv. iv

2' NINDA.G]UR₄.RA.GAL ki-i mta-az-zi[-el-li?]]
]-----[
 3']x-x 10 UDU^{HLA} šu-up-pa-aš-mi-it an-d[a
 4' p[ar-š]u-ul-li LÚ ḫa-mi-i-ni-eš d[a-a-i
]-----[
 5']x 2 GU₄.MAḪ 10 UDU^{HLA} šu-up-pa-aš-me-it an-[da
 6' p[ar-š]u-u]l-li LÚ GUDU₁₂ d[a-a-i
]-----[
 7' MU^{NUS} š[un-za-an-na-aš d[a-a-i
]-----[
 8' LÚ ar-za-na-a-la-aš d[a-a-i
]-----[
 9' LÚ^{MES} la-aḫ-ḫi-ia-li-eš da-a[n-zi
 10' ME^S ŠU.GI URU Zi-ip-la-an-da da-a[n-zi
]-----[
 11' Š]U⁹.GI É.GAL da[
 12' LU^{MES} kán-ti-ki-e-pí-eš d[a-an-zi
]-----[
 13' UZU]k la-at-ta-ua₄-a-la-aš ne-[
 14']x-x LÚ IŠKUR da-a-i[
]-----[
 15']GI 1 NINDA.GUR₄.RA.GAL UZU mu-uḫ-ri-i[]
]-----[
 16' NINDA.]GUR₄.RA LÚ MUḪALDIM DINGIR^{LIM} da-fa]l[-i]
 17' m]i-iš da-a-f]i[
]-----[
 18'] x[

Broken

] large thick bread the *taze[lli]*
]...ten sheep, their meat ..[
 bre]ad of the *ḫamina*-man ta[kes
] two bulls ten sheep, their meat[
 brea]d the GUDU-priest t[akes
]the *šiwanzanna*-priestess t[akes
] the [man] of the *arzana*-house t[akes
] the *laḫiyala*-men ta[ke
] the elders of the town Zippalanda ta[ke
 the eld]er[s?] of the palace ta[ke

⁹⁰⁵ See transliteration of Neu, *StBoT* 25: 42-43.

] the *kantikipi*-men t[ake
] the *katawala*-meat[
] the Man of the Storm-god ta[kes
] one large thick bread on the *muhri*-meat
 large thick bread the cook of the deity ta[kes
]..... tak[e

This text includes a list of cult personnel who receive meat. The priestess appears high on the list, immediately after the GUDU-priest.

This fragment seems to belong to the old Hattic traditions evident in relation to the ^{MUNUS}SANGA; see especially the group of the *kantikipi*-men mentioned here.

3. KBo 20.84 is a fragment mentioning the *šiwanzanna*-priestesses together with the NIN.DINGIR. It is probably a MH text.

x+1 [LU^{MEŠ}]ḫa-a-p[i-eš
 2' [š]e-ir-ḫa-x[
 []-----[
 3' [d] šī-ú-na-aš LÚ ALA[M.ZU,
 4' nu NIN.DINGIR-i ḫal-zi-i[a
 -----[
 5' G^{IS}za-ḫur-ti-in an-da x[
 6' 14 G^{IS}kur-ši an-da-an x[
 7' na-aš dšī-ú-ni ḫi-in-ga-[
 8' ma-a-an NIN.DINGIR-aš an-da x[
 9' LÚ^{MEŠ} SANGA MUNUS^{MEŠ} šī-ua-an-za-an-[na
 10' LÚ SANGA dTe-te-eš-ḫa-ua-pí-i[n
 11' na-aš kat-ti-iš-ši a[r-ta?
 -----[
 12' LÚ^{GIS} GIDRU LÚ^{MEŠ} ḫa-īa-pí[-eš
 13' LÚ^{GIS} GIDRU ḫa-x[
 14' traces.

Broken

Because of the fragmentary state of this text it is difficult to translate. But a rough sketch may be drawn from it as follows:

The *ḫapia*-men are doing something; then the *alamzu*-men of or at the (temple of the) deity Šiu(naš), seem to call out for the NIN.DINGIR. A *zahurti*-plate is probably brought to the NIN.DINGIR. Fourteen *kurši*-objects are brought inside. The NIN.DINGIR bows to the deity. When the NIN.DINGIR enters the temple, the SANGA-priests and the *šiwanzanna*-priestesses

probably accompany her. The SANGA-priest of the goddess Tetešḫapi stands beside her. Then the staff-bearer and the *ḫapia*-men dance or run.

This small fragment connects the NIN.DINGIR with a group of priestesses in a cultic scene. She is accompanied by the SANGA-priests and the *šiwanzanna*-priestesses as she enters what is probably the temple of the deity Šiunaš.

5.2.3 The AMA.DINGIR-priestess: Descriptions in cult inventories

As already mentioned in the introduction to this study, the purpose of cult inventories was to keep account of the temples' inventory: buildings, objects stored, personnel, and such cult activities as the festivals celebrated in them. All of the following texts belong to the period of the New Kingdom.

A) KUB 12.2 is a four column tablet broken on the upper part and thus missing the beginning and the end. The text on the preserved parts lists the deities as well as the supplies for the main festival(s) in which they are celebrated; the spring festival is the most important one, but a few times the fall festival is mentioned as being celebrated in the same way as the spring event. Consequently, the personnel belonging to each deity is mentioned, whether a priest or (in two cases) a priestess. Col. i lists the deities and their cult personnel, including the supplies for the festival.⁹⁰⁶

- 8' The New God: a *ḫuyaši*; Arma-piya as p[riest]⁹⁰⁷
 9' one sheep; six thick breads; one vessel of beer, for the [spring festival]

 10' Storm-god of Aššur: a *ḫuyaši*; Marašanda as p[riest]
 11' for the male gods; six thick breads; one vessel of beer - f[or the spring festival].

 12' dPentaruhši : a *ḫuyaši* ; Maraš[anda as priest]
 13' his AMA.DINGIR^{IM}-priestess, Bazā; one sheep; three thick breads; [one vessel of beer - for the spring festival]

 14' Storm-god of the thunderstorm: a *ḫuyaši* ; Dudduli as p[riest];
 15' six thick breads; one vessel of beer - for the spring festival.

⁹⁰⁶ The text was treated by Carter (1962) 74. For more on this text see 4.1.8 p. 221 above.

⁹⁰⁷ Although the only word appearing is LÚ, on the basis of the remaining lines it is clear that the restored word must be SANGA.

- 16' The male gods of the clouds: a *huwaši*; Dudduḡalli [as priest];
 17' one small pig; three thick breads; one vessel of beer - for the spring festival.
- 18' Storm-god piḡaimi: a *huwaši*; Ḥullū as prie[st];
 19' one sheep; three thick breads; one vessel of beer - for the spring festival.
- 20' Išelku: a *huwaši*; Muttanani as priest; one sheep;
 21' three thick breads; one vessel of beer - for the spring festival.
- 22' Yarri: a *huwaši*; Ḥarwa-ziti as priest; one sheep;
 23' six thick breads; one vessel of beer - for the spring festival.
- 24' Storm-god of Ḥayaša: a *huwaši*; Wannī as priest; one sheep;
 25' [?] thick breads; one vessel of beer - for the spring festival.
- 26' []-da: a *huwaši*; Piḡauḡiia as AMA.DINGIR^{LIM}-priestess.; one sheep;
 27' [x thick breads]; one vessel of beer - for the spring festival.

Edge of tablet

This passage shows that one priest or priestess may serve several deities, for example, Marašanda who serves the Storm-god of Aššur and 'Pentaruḡši (i 10', 12'), and Dudduli/Dudduḡalli (probably the same person) who is registered for two divine entities (i 14', 16').⁹⁰⁸ The priestesses are ^{MUNUS}AMA.DINGIR^{LIM}. The recording of the priests' personal names on such a list is quite rare.

In the small preserved portion of column ii of this text, the same deities are named without mentioning cult personnel; an indication of the amounts of supplies for the spring and fall festivals is also given. This time it is said twice that the city continues to provide for the festival. It can be assumed, then, that the first list (in col. i) indicated items for the spring or fall festival supplied by the cult personnel, whereas the second column lists the city's provision for the festivals. In almost every indication of provisions for the individual deities, it is the spring festival that is named; it probably was the main festival. The list of the deities to be provided

⁹⁰⁸ From the fourth column of this tablet we learn also that Tarḡunta-piya serves the Storm-god of luxuriant growth as well as the Storm-god of Aššur (iv 14, 18). Also, Ḥudrala is the priest of the Storm-god of Tarmaliya and Pentaruḡši (iv 10, 12).

for by the town continues into column iii, and there are differences between the amounts previously mentioned as the responsibility of the priests on duty, and the amounts the city is to provide (compare col. iii 1-2 and col. i 18-19: in the case of the city the amount is doubled). It has to be noted, however, that not all the deities are repeated on col. iii. It could be that the rest of the list of deities with their priests continues in the broken part of col. ii.

Column iv lists the deities and their stela (*ḡuwaši*). Next comes the presiding priest, indicated by his or her name, and then the supplies ("the city continues to give for the spring festival"). The names of the deities seem to be the same as in the previous columns. But the priests' names are different. The New-God on col. i 8' has Arma-piya as priest, but on col. iv 20 he has Dudduḡalli as priest. The Storm-god of Aššur has Marašanda as priest on col. i 10', whereas in col. iv 18 he has Tarḡunta-piya as priest. It may be suggested that the text, as in other cases of cult inventories, indicated first the old (*anallaz*) state of the cult and then its new (*kinunna*) disposition after changes made by the king.⁹⁰⁹ Some of the priests' names are the same, although they belong to other deities. It could be that they were transferred to other deities, or these deities were added to their care after the departure of the previous priest (who moved to another city or died). An important fact emerging from this list of personnel is that each deity had its own priest to care for him or her.

The question of the priestess is a bit more complicated. In this list - a long one - only two AMA.DINGIR-priestesses are mentioned: one is the priestess *Bazā* who serves alongside the male priest Marašanda, dedicated to the deity Pentaruḡši (col. i 13'); the other one is Piḡauḡiia, who serves the deity whose name is lost except for the ending *-da*. Whether the deities are female or male is hard to say. Regarding Pentaruḡši, Otten⁹¹⁰ has proposed the possibility of this deity being the Weather-god of Ḥayaša. In this case the priestess serves a male god. In the parallel indication of the deity Pentaruḡši (iv 12), a priest alone is mentioned by a name different than in col. i and there is no longer an AMA.DINGIR-priestess. With the other case of a priestess in the text, the name of the deity is lost, so we can't tell whether it was indeed a female deity.

⁹⁰⁹ See Carter (1962) 18-21.

⁹¹⁰ Otten, *StBoT* 13: 36 n. 54.

In light of the fact that only a town in the singular is mentioned, it seems to me most probable that this is a cult inventory of only one town, the name of which is unfortunately only partly preserved on col. iii 24: "Total seventeen deities; a *huwaši* of (the town) *Hašu* []".⁹¹¹

B) KUB 38.1 is an inventory of temples, from different cities, which underwent certain changes. The relevant passages were presented in 2.5.2 above p. 25. This quite typical cult inventory has a reference to the people who hold or keep the deities probably indicating that it is the responsibility of these officials to provide for the cults during the year's festivals. As already suggested above in 2.5.2 p. 24, it seems that the sex of the deity does not determine the sex of its priest.

C) KUB 42.87 is a cult inventory from the town Zippalanda which indicates the supplies for the *zenant* (fall) festival for several deities of the town.⁹¹² The supplies come from the houses of the temple workers. Each paragraph indicates the amount of supplies and the deity to receive it. The festival is always the fall festival, and the temple functionary who is to provide supplies is indicated. Of each one of them it is said: "He/She provides/celebrates from his/her house".

The list includes the following members of the temple personnel:

^{LÚ} GUDU₁₂ / ^{LÚ} UMMEDÀ / [^{LÚ} SANGA?] ^{dKUS} kurša-
[^{MUNUS} A]MA.DINGIR^{LIM} / ^{LÚ} ḫilamnaš EN-aš
^{LÚ} SAGLA / ^{LÚ} NAR

There are more people on the list but the text is broken.

The [^{MUNUS} A]MA.DINGIR^{LIM} is to provide the same amounts and kinds of food as the others. She is to provide for a certain deity called Anzili. The passage regarding the priestess is as follows (col. v):

5' [1? U]DU 3 PA ŽI.DA 9 DUG.KAŠ
6' [x DU]G ḫa-ni-iš-ša-a-aš KAŠ-ja
7' [A-N]A ^dAn-zi-li A-NA EZEN₄ zé-e-na-an-da-aš
8' [^{MUNUS} A]MA.DINGIR^{LIM} IŠ-TU É-ŠU e-eš-ša-i

⁹¹¹ RGTC 6/1: 96-97.

⁹¹² The text was treated by Popko *THeth* 21: 320-325.

[one sh]eep, three *parisu* flour, nine vessels of beer
[x] *ḫanešša*-[vess]els and beer,
for the deity Anzili for the fall festival
The AMA.DINGIR-prie[stess] celebrates from her house.

The deity Anzili is a female deity according to KUB 38.19+ IBoT 2.102 rev. 8': "The deity Anzili, a silver female image[...]"⁹¹³ It is quite interesting that the other deities mentioned in the text are male deities. The goddess, though, is served by a priestess.

D) Providing for a festival was the duty of the state institutions as well as the cult personnel who took care of the daily offerings in each temple. The provision for a festival by the priestess is stated in KBo 13.252.⁹¹⁴

8 [x] UDU^{HLA} 161 <PA> ŽI.DA 10 ^{DUG} KA.GAG [x]^{MU} ^{NUS} AMA.DINGIR^{LIM}
9 [T]A É-ŠU e-eš-ša-i a-an-x[]x[pé-eš-]ki?-iz-l-zi [
"x sheep and six *PARISU* of flour, ten *ka.gag*-beer[....]the
AMA.DINGIR-priestess from her house celebrates,
....in the p[ast]? she used to provide["]

The name of the town is not preserved. The priestess is required to supply from her own house, which means that she was a property owner.

E) The cult inventory texts point to a situation in which a local cult of a village or town previously had one SANGA-priest and one AMA.DINGIR-priestess. This can be learned from KBo 12.56, where Tudḫaliya IV makes changes in the cult during the 13th century (note especially line 7').⁹¹⁵

Obv. i

2' [] wearing a.... of one *šekan* and one UPN[U
3' []...they will repair?/make well again [
4' []... the lord of the UKU.UŠ(troops) gives. Ašmišarruma...[

⁹¹³ Beckman, *StBoT* 29: 79-80 with notes 195-196. He notes the fact that Anzili usually appears together with another goddess, Zukkiš, and that they are associated with birth alongside the Mother-goddesses and the deities of Fate. See also below 5.2.3 pp. 361-362 in VBoT 83 line 9' where the text can be restored for ^dAnzilin, and where again there is a female statue of iron representing the goddess Anzili.

⁹¹⁴ The text was treated by Hazenbos (2003) 109-111.

⁹¹⁵ The translation follows the treatment by Hazenbos (2003) 54.

- 5' four sheep, six *PARISU* of roasted (and) milled (grain) the town gi?[ves
 6' three festivals: one autumn (festival) one spring (festival) one
 (festival of the) fruit.
 7' one SANGA-priest, one AMA.DINGIR-priestess.
 (That is) the old order.
-
- 8' one temple Armaziti will build. Miḥamaru
 9' is in charge of the silve[r (and) gold.]
-
- 10' two SANGA?-priests, one cook, one baker, one...[
 11' ... put? His Majesty has instituted (it).]
-

(a description of a decorated statue continues for another four lines)

This text shows that a cult center at a village or small town had one SANGA-priest and one AMA.DINGIR-priestess, and that the town, as well as the army commander of the area, took part in providing certain amounts of food for the cult. They celebrate three major festivals: the spring, autumn, and fruit (probably the first fruits) festivals. The change brought about by the 13th century reorganization seems to involve the building of another temple with additional personnel: "two SANGA?-priests, one cook, one baker". A female priestess is not mentioned, unless the "two ^{LU}SANGA" includes one priestess (which seems most probable).⁹¹⁶

F) The duty of the AMA.DINGIR-priestess to provide for a festival in her town can be found in another cult inventory, KBo 2.8.⁹¹⁷ This text describes statues as well as festivals. The main figure to be celebrated is the Deity of the Night. The translation of the text according to Hazenbos follows.

Col. i starts with a description of two statues of women, either seated or standing, whose eyes are inlaid with gold. The paragraph ends with the following lines:

- 6] (Interlaced), with a (kind of clothes dre[ssed?)
 7] the AMA.DINGIR-priestess [
 (skip lines 8-10)

- 11 [A SANGA-priest], an AMA.DINGIR-priestess and a *palwatalla*-(woman)[
 12 [Something] of the mountain Kuduwaš. The silver and gold...]

⁹¹⁶ On this see more in the concluding remarks.

⁹¹⁷ Hazenbos (2003) 131-137.

- 13 have been counted. The daily thick bread (of) the monthly festival
 [was prepared?

-
- 17-19 Starting with the *harpa*-festival to the Deity of the Night of the town
 Parnašša
 18 the AMA.DINGIR-priestess brought? from the threshing floor of the
 palace one *parisu* of spelt (and) one *parisu* of grain
 19 The AMA.DINGIR-priestess (and) the *hazziḫi*-women u[sed to]
 provide (them).
-

- 20 On the first day the SANGA-priest, the AMA.DINGIR-priestess and the
palwatalla-woman
 21 wash (themselves) and they go up to the temple.
 (the following includes description of the activity of the Eme-woman)

The text continues with a description of the festival, although it is not clear which days of the festival are described. The AMA.DINGIR-priestess is mentioned again in a fragmentary passage, as are the *palwatalla*-woman as well as the SANGA-priest. The only thing said about the SANGA-priest is the fact that he provides for the festival from his house. Moreover, during the festival to the Deity of the Night, the Lion-men are named as participants in this festival together with the singing and dancing *hazgara*-women. That may mean that the festival belongs to the Hattic tradition.

The AMA.DINGIR-priestess clearly takes part in the cultic procedure, together with the EME-woman who performs some kind of magic ritual. The exact role of the AMA.DINGIR-priestess in the festival is not clear, but she is consistently mentioned second after the SANGA-priest.

G) . The need for representation of male and female priests in a temple and in the cult can also be seen in VBoT 83, which includes a description of statues of deities.

- Rs.
 x+1 z]i [
 2']x-aš-ma-aš 1 ^{LU}S[ANG]-ja a[š?
 3']-za ALAM.AN.BAR.MUNUS TUŠ-an ŠA 1[
 4' ḫa]-an-ti-i DÜ-an-zi MUNUS.AMA.DINGIR^{LI}M
 5' DINGIR^{MEŠ} pu-la-aš ḫa-an-ti-i kap-pu[-
 6'] zi-la-aš SIG₅ [?]
]-----[
 7']^dTe-li-pí-nu-uš ^{URU}KÚ.BABBAR-ši-aš-kán x[

- 8' EGI]R-pa GAR-ri ^{dU}URU An-zi-pa-a⁹¹⁸ GU₄-an[
 9' ^dAn-z]i-li-in ALAM.MUNUS.AN.BAR 1/2 UP-NI DÜ-an-z[i
 10' a]n? ALAM.MUNUS.AN.BAR BABBAR.GIŠ' 1 UP-NI DÜ-an-zi[
 11' z]i 1^{LU}SANGA 1^{MUNUS} AMA.DINGIR^{LIM} DÜ-an-zi[
 12' Š]A 3 BÂN DÜ-an-zi EZEN₄^{MEŠ}-ma-aš [
 13' ḥa-a]n-ti-i tar-ra-u-ṭa-an-te-eš zi-^lla¹-a[š SIG₅
]-----[
 14']x-an x-ri (under erasure) ^dZi-it-ḥa-ri-ja x[
 15']x-x ^dU ú-x-ri É.DINGIR^{LIM}[
 16']x-[]x ḤUR.SAG ḥu-ut?-tu[
 Broken
- 2'] for them one SANGA-priest, too [
 3']... an iron female statue seated, of one [
 4' separa]tely they make. An AMA.DINGIR-priestess[
 5'] the Lot [dei]ties separately ...[
 6'] outcome: favorable [?]
]-----[
 7'] The god Telipinu in the city Ḥattuša he [
 8'] is set [ba]ck. The Storm-god of the town Anzipa [they make?]
 (in the form of) an ox
 9' the deity Anz]ili they make (in the form of) a female iron statue of
 half *upni* [
 10' DN] they make a female statue of iron (with?) white wood of one
upni [
 11'] one SANGA-priest one AMA.DINGIR-priestess they install[
 12' olf three BÂN they make. The festivals, however, they?[
 13' sapa]tely dancing?. Outcome: [favorable?
]-----[
 14'].... the deity Zithariya[
 15'].... the Storm-god the temple[
 16']..... the mountain Ḥutu⁹¹⁹[

It looks like the male and female priests in this text were installed in their office to care for the statues of the deities, the priestess for female statues presented into the temple. There are two female statues, one of them belonging to the deity Anzili (if correctly restored), a goddess who was mentioned above 5.2.3 pp. 358-359.

⁹¹⁸ See Gessel, *Onomasticon* 2: 798.

⁹¹⁹ *RGTC* 6/1: 130.

5.2.4 Concluding remarks

Since the texts mentioning AMA.DINGIR-priestesses range from festivals to inventory texts to prayers, we may conclude that this office was an integral part of Hittite religion. This was also the conclusion from the texts presented in Chapter 2. The question arises whether these priestesses belong to one or the other of the Hittite religious traditions. To answer this question I would like to present two lists of data: the first will include the towns in which the priestesses appear, and the second will specify the deities who are mentioned in their rituals.

A) The towns in which the priestesses serve

Within the festival texts are mentioned Ḥattuša, Zippalanda, Kaštama, and Nerik, which are the old Hittite cult centers. In the cult inventories we learn of the town Tammeka and the town of Karahna. But it is only due to the fragmentary state of the texts that names of more towns were not preserved. According to the text ICBG (2.3 p. 11), each town had a male and female priest to care for its deities, and when there was a vacancy in either office, the commander of the garrison was responsible for filling it.

B) The deities to whom the priestesses are related

A single AMA.DINGIR-priestess may be dedicated to a certain deity - "the priestess of DN". In our texts this is the case only twice: priestess to the goddess Titiwatti and the deity Ḥalki (also written: "priestess of the temple of the deity Ḥalki"). We may of course add here the queen Tawananna-Danuḥepa who was a priestess to the Sun-goddess of Arinna.

In all other cases either a single AMA.DINGIR-priestess is mentioned with no relation to a particular deity, or a group of priestesses are recorded, again with no relation to a particular deity. In the rituals in which the priestesses participate, however, certain deities are worshiped. The deities are as follows: the Storm-god of Nerik, the deity Zaliyanu, the Storm-god, Šulinkatte, the the Šalawani deities of the gate, Nerak, Ziliwari, Ningal, and Zababa, the goddess Kataḥḥa, the goddess Ḥuwaššanna, the goddess Anzili, Zithariya, and the Deity of the Night of the town Parnašša.

This partial list, taking into account the fragmentary state of the texts, shows its relation to the different religious traditions of the Hittites. There are deities who belong to the old Ḥattian tradition, such as the Storm-god of Nerik with Zaliyanu, Kataḥḥa, Anzili,

and Zithariya, as well as Hattian deities which were intertwined with Luwian religion like Šulinkatte and Zilipuri. The Goddess Huwaššanna is connected with the Luwian tradition in the Hittite religion, and Ningal reflects the north Syrian influence on the Hittite religion.

Does her name AMA.DINGIR (Hittite: *šiwanzanna*, “mother of the deity”) indeed reflect her functions? As a female she represents the female gender in the cult.⁹²⁰ She is related to the fertility cult, and she is associated with female deities. She is the counterpart of the male priests as they take care of the same male or female deity. One may suggest that as the female partner of male priests in the priestly class, her presence helps create on earth the harmony of male and female present in the divine world. Her name, therefore, may be understood as “divine female”, where the word AMA (Hittite *anna*) should not necessarily be understood as the “physical mother”, but rather as an indication for “female” and/or “the mature/fertile female”. She relates to the divine through her duties of seeing to the needs of the gods. Does the cultic activity of the AMA.DINGIR-priestess justify this title?

C) The priestess’ ritual activity can be summed up as follows: the first title the priestess receives beside her name *šiwanzanna* is ARAD.DINGIR^{LIM}, “servant of the deity” (5.2.2 above p.344). This determines a direct relation with the divine as it is explained in the text of ITP (3.6 §2 above pp. 70-71). As such she is assigned to certain deities and their statues, as indicated in the cult inventories (5.2.3 p. 355).

During the rituals she may walk alongside the king and prince, or walk in front, or proceed behind; this may be done together with other SANGA-priests or with GUDU-priests or other cult functionaries. She appears with other priests while welcoming royalty to a temple or to the city. She is described as spreading the *hurupi*-breads at the feet of the king (5.2.2 p. 345). It should be noted that in another text the same act of scattering the breads is done by a SANGA-priest (5.1.3 p. 326). The priestess participates in rituals of sacrifice, although she is not mentioned as actually performing it. But she does eat with the other participants during

⁹²⁰ She is in that sense not different from the ^{MUNUS}SANGA, who is also the female counterpart of the male priest. According to the attestation of the ^{MUNUS}AMA.DINGIR^{LIM}, it seems that the Hittites preferred the female priestess title as *šiwanzanna* or ^{MUNUS}AMA.DINGIR^{LIM}.

rituals (5.2.2 p. 349 and 5.2.2 p. 355).

The priestesses’ functions in their social context can be learned from the text “Purification ritual” (CTH 456; see 2.4.2 p. 18). This text shows the responsibility the priesthood carries for cleansing a town from its sins. In this text the AMA.DINGIR-priestesses together with the SANGA-priests “wash themselves, and they take off the circlets from their heads, and they enwrap their heads with white headbands, they wear their white clothes, too, they sweep the temple, they wipe the floors, they sprinkle (water) inside and outside the temple”. This description shows that in the town’s temples the priestess is active in regard to the maintenance of the house of the deity. In this festival the priestesses are dressed in white, and the aim of their work is cleansing the temple, clearing it of a sin that occurred earlier in the town.

The AMA.DINGIR-priestess has almost no connections to magical rituals. The one text which includes a kind of magical ritual is the festival for the Deity of the Night of Parnašša (5.2.3 p. 361). The role of the priestess is to provide for the festival from the threshing floor, however, and to wash herself and be present at the temple. The EME-woman conducts the ritual itself, not our priestess.

One ritual may suggest her active sacral role, though the text is broken. It is KBo 17.100 (5.2.2 pp. 336-337). Two priestesses are seated at the spring, where the deity’s cups as well as animals for the sacrifice are placed. Another picture of seated priests is described in the Illuyanka myth (CTH 321).⁹²¹ A GUDU-priest speaks of a lot-casting among the gods at a spring, where the gods are supposed to arrive and be seated. It becomes clear from two occurrences in the text that priests are holding the statues of the deities.

The first occurrence is in lines 14’-16’ and 18’-20’:

14’ The GUDU-priest who holds the deity Zaliyanu

The second occurrence is at the end of the speech where the GUDU-priest tells of a royal decree to establish a temple at the chosen town Tanipiya with the words:

20’ these three persons (=gods) will remain

21’ in the town of Tanipiya.

Speaking in the previous lines of three deities (Zaliyanu, Zašḫapuna, and Tazzuwaši) the three persons could mean the priests holding the statues represent the deities. The priestesses in our text (KBo

⁹²¹ Beckman (1982) 11-25.

17.100) may perform the same role.

The priestess is never described as dancing, singing, or reciting, but she is said to provide for the cult from her house, just like the other priests. This must indicate that she has the means to provide for the cult, means which are probably supplied by the central administration.

D) The status of the priestess may be summarized as follows. The AMA.DINGIR-priestess is always one among other cult participants in the state festivals, and her cultic role is related to the activity of the king, queen, or prince. She appears next to highly ranked persons, such as the lord of Hatti or the “administrators of Ankuwa and Šanaḫuwitta”. She is also one of a group of priestesses of her rank, and they act together. In most of the texts she is named together with a (male) SANGA-priest or GUDU-priest. It seems, however, that in number the male priests exceed the priestesses. She may function as a single priestess of a certain deity, as the main priestess of a temple. Such may be the case in the texts in which she is named as the priestess of Halki, since she then takes part in the “great assembly”. Her high position in Hittite society is mentioned in the magical texts against “slander”, CTH 760 (2.4.1 p. 15); here she is mentioned in the second group, after the members of the court. In this text she is counted the last among the priests, after the GUDU-priest and the SANGA-priest. (A possible explanation is that the GUDU-priest is closer to the magical world than the SANGA-priest and the AMA.DINGIR-priestess). When a list of priests is given, she will always appear after the SANGA-priest, but she may appear before the GUDU-priest.

According to the cult inventories, she may be a single priestess serving a whole town (5.2.3 p. 359), or she may be part of a large cult center, such as in the town of Karahna, which held a great number of AMA.DINGIR-priestesses according to the colophon (2.5.1 p. 23). The cult inventories inform us that the priesthood is part of the kingdom administration, and the priests, as well as other cult professionals, are installed by the central administration and can be transferred from place to place (5.2.3 pp. 358, 360).

There is no solid information concerning her marital status, which can only be guessed at from circumstantial evidence. First, she has a house, which may mean that she is married, and she lives outside the temple, as is the case with the male priests according to the ITP (Chapter 3 above). Secondly, among the texts describing

the NIN.DINGIR priestess’ activity, one mentions a child of the priestess, probably a daughter (KUB 11.32+20.17 ii 25’-26’):

[nu NIN.DINGIR DUMU^{MUNUS} AMA.DINGIR^{LIM}-ja [.....]

“The NIN.DINGIR and a daughter of an AMA.DINGIR-priestess [squat?]”

This suggests that the office of female priesthood could be passed on to descendents. The daughter of the priestess enters the office at a young age. We can also add that the queen, a married woman who had children, could also be described as AMA.DINGIR-priestess.

Since in the ITP the priestesses are not addressed separately from the male priests, we can assume that the priestesses, too, had to sleep inside the temple when on duty. They also had to take all measures to be clean and pure, and so be fit for working with the gods. I believe that their cultic status in this sense is similar to that of the male priests.⁹²²

We may say that in all her roles described so far, the priestess fulfills a kind of official and formal role. If indeed this is how we can interpret her presence at the cult, then the text describing her with the KAR.KID-women (5.2.2 p. 338), where she performs a kind of a drama during the festival to the goddess Titiwatti, may suggest that she represents the goddess in that case. In such an interpretation we suggest that the priestess could have played the role of the goddess during a dramatized ritual. This may be seen clearly in the ritual activity of the NIN.DINGIR-priestess.

5.2.5 Historical perspective: The relationship between the AMA.DINGIR-priestess and the SANGA-priestess

In the ritual to the goddess Titiwatti, we find in one text the AMA.DINGIR-priestess and in another the SANGA-priestess.⁹²³ The description of the SANGA-priestess in the previous sub-chapter shows that both these groups of priestesses were engaged in similar activities. The festival to the goddess Titiwatti must date back to the old Anatolian tradition, and therefore must originate in the Old Hittite period. Our tablets, though, all show new script; that is, they all come from the New Hittite period. This may open a possible insight into the regular and multiple usage of the Sumerograms AMA.DINGIR^{LIM} and the less frequent usage of the^{MUNUS} SANGA. It can be suggested that the Sumerogram for a priestess,

⁹²² They wash and dress like the male priests in the text “Purification ritual” CTH 456 (2.4.2 above p. 18).

⁹²³ 5.2.2 above pp. 338-339, with footnote 871.

^{MUNUS}SANGA, was used next to the word *šiwanzanna* in older periods of the Hittite language, since both are attested in Old and Middle Hittite texts that belonged to the old Hattian tradition of central Anatolia. At some time during the Middle Kingdom, however, the ^{MUNUS}AMA.DINGIR^{LIM} became the term used in order to indicate a priestess in the Hittite cult.⁹²⁴ This change could have taken place from the Middle Hittite kingdom onward. The disappearance of the designation ^{MUNUS}SANGA is evident if we compare the titles used by the king and queen. Since the king is a ^{LU}SANGA, we would expect the queen to be the ^{MUNUS}SANGA, but instead she is titled ^{MUNUS}AMA.DINGIR^{LIM}. Again, ^{MUNUS}SANGA clearly relates to central Anatolia, whereas the ^{MUNUS}AMA.DINGIR^{LIM} refers to all priestesses within the Hittite realm. The ^{MUNUS}AMA.DINGIR^{LIM} is often mentioned in the cult inventories, which come from all parts of the Hittite Kingdom.⁹²⁵ It can be stated that in the material from the later periods, the ^{MUNUS}SANGA is present only in those texts relating to the goddess Hepat, whose cult was promoted by queen Puduhepa in the 13th century BCE. Possibly, the use of this term for the priestess of Hepat reflects an intention to maintain old traditions with new cult ordinance. But on the whole, it can be suggested that ^{MUNUS}AMA.DINGIR^{LIM} replaced ^{MUNUS}SANGA as the most common title for a priestess.

⁹²⁴ See above 2.8.2 pp. 30-31 for the suggested development of the usage of the Sumerogram AMA for a female deity. The fact that the Sumerograms combination AMA, DINGIR.AMA next to AMA.DINGIR and AMA.DINGIR^{LIM} is seen in texts of Middle Hittite period, strengthens the assumption that the use of the Sumerogram AMA.DINGIR^{LIM} for female priesthood was introduced during that period, pointing to the fact that indeed AMA stands for "female", and not necessarily "mother".

⁹²⁵ Hazenbos (2003) 191-199.