

6.2 THE NIN.DINGIR - PRIESTESS AND PRINCESS

The NIN.DINGIR is an exceptional priestess in the Hittite texts. There is always only one such priestess, which makes her unique. The Sumerogram has no Hittite equivalent, and it is difficult to identify her with certainty. Mesopotamian texts may help, but on examining them it turns out that between Mesopotamia and Hatti there are marked differences in this office. However, on close examination the evidence leads us to the most likely conclusion that the NIN.DINGIR is a royal princess who, like the rest of the royal family, also serves in a cultic capacity as a priestess.

6.2.1 Textual sources and their dating

The Hittite texts mentioning the NIN.DINGIR were collected in Laroche's catalog under the number CTH 649. At the time of the compilation of his catalog, Laroche could assign to CTH 649 only two texts: KBo 10.27 and KUB 20.90. Since then more texts mentioning the NIN.DINGIR have accumulated, and Pecchioli Daddi, in two articles regarding CTH 649, has offered a new constitution.⁹⁷⁸

It should be emphasized that there is no single coherent text regarding the NIN.DINGIR, but rather a great number of fragments where the NIN.DINGIR appears in cultic functions, during what seems to be rituals relating to festivals. The lack of complete tablets, and the existence of only one fragmentary colophon with the title NIN.DINGIR, make it very difficult to substantiate the nature of the NIN.DINGIR's office.⁹⁷⁹ This priestess is hidden behind her Sumerogram, and does not expose her true identity in the Hittite context. Still, from the fragmentary evidence, and in relation to some Mesopotamian evidence on the NIN.DINGIR, I will attempt in this chapter to portray the office of the Hittite NIN.DINGIR to the extent that the existing material allows such a portrayal.

Texts mentioning the NIN.DINGIR fall under other CTH numbers as well, such as CTH 625 (the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival); CTH 626 (*nuntarriyašha*-festival); CTH 627 (KILAM-festival); CTH 738 (The deity *Tetešhapi*-festival); CTH 650 (festival naming the *zintuḫi*-women); CTH 745 and CTH 743 (fragments in Hattic language); and also some other fragments of unidentified festivals.

⁹⁷⁸ Pecchioli Daddi (1987a) 37-57; idem (1988) 193-208.

⁹⁷⁹ Pecchioli Daddi (1988) 194.

The NIN.DINGIR in these different CTH-texts performs ritual activity similar to that seen in texts belonging to CTH 649. This has already been noted by Houwink ten Cate who showed correlations between rituals in which the NIN.DINGIR participates, rituals associated with the *nuntarriyašha*-festival on the one hand, and the KILAM-festival on the other.⁹⁸⁰

CTH numbers 649 and 738 clearly deal with the NIN.DINGIR's cultic activity in detail and at length. Pecchioli Daddi in her two above-mentioned articles tried to categorize the texts of CTH 649 by their contents. She divided the texts of CTH 649 into two main groups:⁹⁸¹ 1. According to the appearance of the young man and young woman who deliver a message from/of/for the goddess Inara; and 2. Those in which the NIN.DINGIR takes part in a ritual characterized by the activities of her being served at a table with a plate, her scepter-bearer running during the ritual, and her moving from location to location in a carriage (^{GIS} *huluganni*). In addition, in a separate article on the celebration to the deity *Tetešhapi*, Pecchioli Daddi emphasizes the NIN.DINGIR's major role in this festival as the deity's representative on earth.⁹⁸²

From all the texts mentioning the NIN.DINGIR, it is clear that she appears only in texts related to festivals. Since both the king and the queen usually take part in these rituals, the festivals can be assigned to the "state cult".

Looking at the corpus of the texts mentioning the NIN.DINGIR, several texts seem to treat this figure in a "solo role". Such texts will be the main focus of the present sub-chapter, although other fragments with interesting data will be considered as well,⁹⁸³ for example:

- 1) KUB 11.32+20.17; 2) KUB 25.51; 3) KBo 21.90;
- 4) KBo 21.103 + KUB 32.83; 5) KBo 25.31;
- 6) KBo 21.100-105; 7) KBo 10.27 together with KBo 17.18 and duplicates;
- 8) KBo 19.161, 19.163; 9) KUB 56.46.

⁹⁸⁰ Houwink ten Cate (1988) 179 n. 16.

⁹⁸¹ Pecchioli Daddi (1988) 194.

⁹⁸² Pecchioli Daddi (1987b) 361-380.

⁹⁸³ A list of all fragments treated can be found at the end of this sub-chapter (6.2.11 pp. 418-422). Due to space considerations, most of the texts mentioning the NIN.DINGIR will not be given here in transliteration or translation. I hope to publish them separately.

Most of the texts mentioning the NIN.DINGIR reveal old Hittite language, mainly with the usage of the prefix *ta* instead of *nu*, *-e-* for the 3 pl. enclitic personal pronoun, as well as other OH verbal forms. From the script and ductus of the texts one can see that there are texts of OH origin, as well as copies showing newer forms.⁹⁸⁴ On this basis, the continuation of the NIN.DINGIR office from old Hittite times to the Empire period can be assumed.

6.2.2 The NIN.DINGIR: A Sumerogram in Hittite

The Sumerogram NIN.DINGIR, used for a woman officiating in Hittite cultic rituals, appears mainly in texts of OH ductus. Many of the texts, which include singing in the Hattic language, cannot be translated yet, but they indicate the strong ties between this office and ancient Hattic religious tradition.

The Hittite NIN.DINGIR is a female practicing in a cultic environment. In one text the word is quite surprisingly written ^{MUNUS}NIN.DINGIR, or “female NIN.DINGIR” (KBo 22.175 lines 3’ 9’).

It can be assumed that the Hittite usage of the Sumerogram NIN.DINGIR for a female cult functionary can be similar or at least close to its Sumero-Akkadian meaning and usage. Renger was the first to sum up the functions of different cult functionaries in the Old Babylonian period.⁹⁸⁵ The NIN.DINGIR held an important role and status among the cult personnel.⁹⁸⁶ Renger draws a list of some 19 attestations to enthroning or choosing a NIN.DINGIR-priestess in old Babylonian texts.⁹⁸⁷ To that list can be added Henshaw’s list, which includes later periods.⁹⁸⁸ Most of the NIN.DINGIRs serve a male deity, emphasizing their role as female counterpart to the god they serve.

In early lists of the Akkadian period the NIN.DINGIR, named *entu*, appears among people of high rank. In many cases she is either the daughter or the sister of the ruling king.⁹⁸⁹

⁹⁸⁴ Neu has already shown this in *StBoT* 25. For example, the young duplicates to KBo 25.31 on p. 83.

⁹⁸⁵ Though, as shown by Archi (1998) this office goes back to the third Millennium BCE records from Ebla, which testify for the princesses of the royal family titled “dam-dingir” priestess.

⁹⁸⁶ Renger (1967) 134.

⁹⁸⁷ Renger, *ibid.*, pp. 136-139.

⁹⁸⁸ Henshaw (1994) 45-46.

⁹⁸⁹ Two known royal NIN.DINGIR-priestesses are Enheduanna, the daughter

The Sumerian word NIN.DINGIR has, in fact, two Akkadian equivalents: *ēntum*, and in later texts *entum* and *ugbabtum/gubabtum*. Whether there was a real difference in Akkadian between these two functions is not clear. It seems that they have either similar status or they handled the same functions in the temple.⁹⁹⁰

A) In the Hittite material there are two nouns which may be regarded as derived from the Akkadian terms for the priestess *ēntum*. One is the Akkadogram *ENTU* and the other is *entanni*. The word *entanni* can be recognized immediately as a Hurrian word by the ending *-anni*. Indeed, this functionary appears in cultic texts of Hurrian origin. The texts are KBo 7.60 obv. 5’ 9’ 12’; 8.62 obv. 6’; KUB 15.5 ii 10’; 27.34 iv 17’; 47.46 rev. 6’.⁹⁹¹ In all these cases, this cultic figure appears as ^{ME-ES/MES}MUNUS *en-ta-an-ni*,⁹⁹² referring to a group of female cultic functionaries, and the texts themselves mainly describe SISKUR-rituals; there is no relation to our NIN.DINGIR priestess, as will be seen later on.

The word *ENTU* appears in two texts,⁹⁹³ one of which concerns the organization of the cult of the goddess Išhara - the Hurrian goddess who entered the Hittite cult toward the end of the Middle Kingdom and who appears primarily from the beginning of the New Kingdom onwards.⁹⁹⁴ KUB 20.1 ii 11 mentions it only once in a broken context⁹⁹⁵:]x *ENTUM* ^{LU}SANGA-ja a-da-a-na e-ša-an-ta-r[i (“...*ENTUM* and a SANGA-priest sit down to eat”). Whether indeed it refers to an *ENTUM*-priestess is not clear since we lack the determinative *MUNUS*. In any case this text has nothing to do with the corpus of texts of the NIN.DINGIR since it contains the kind of rituals belonging to the ^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI, who is mentioned later in the text (col. iii 15). The other text, KUB 40.2, is related to the

of King Sargon of Akkad of the 23rd century BCE for which see Goodnick-Westenholz (1989) 539-556; and the daughter of the Neo-Babylonian king Nabonidus of the 7th century for which see Clay (1915) 66-75 (text number 45 “The dedication of Nabonidus’s Daughter as a Votary”).

⁹⁹⁰ More on the evidence on the NIN.DINGIR from Sumerian-Akkadian sources in relation to the Hittite priestess see Taggar-Cohen (2006) 313-327.

⁹⁹¹ Pecchioli Daddi (1982) 384-385. See the discussion and the emphasis on the Hurrian origin of this word in *HW²* E: 42, as well as the relation to the cult of ^dHepat.

⁹⁹² Sometimes it appears with no determinative at all, as in KUB 27.34 iv 17.

⁹⁹³ Pecchioli Daddi (1982) 434-435.

⁹⁹⁴ Prechel (1996) 90.

⁹⁹⁵ The text itself is NH. See *CHD* Š: 199^a.

cult of Išḫara in Kizzuwatna; it mentions an *ENTU*-priestess and a *SANGA*-priest who take care of the deity's temple for a long time, and then speaks of the renewal of the cult there.⁹⁹⁶ This female functionary, too, has no connection with the *NIN.DINGIR*, since she is part of a completely different religious tradition. The Hittite Akkadogram *ENTU* from Kizzuwatna may represent the Hittite title for a priestess appearing in the colophons of texts from Kizzuwatna as ^{MUNUS}*katra/i* next to a *SANGA*-priest.⁹⁹⁷

We may conclude here that according to our survey of the title, the Akkadogram *ENTU* is not identified as relating to the Sumerogram *NIN.DINGIR* in the Hittite usage.

B) The translation of the Sumerian word *NIN.DINGIR*, to be read *ereš-dingir* in Sumerian, may be "Lady, (who is) a deity", and thus cannot be a genitival form according to Renger. Recently, however, Steinkeller suggested that it is to be read "godly lady/divine devotee" in relation to *munus-zi* and *égi-zi* "faithful lady".⁹⁹⁸ In the Neo-Babylonian period we find that the form *NIN.DINGIR.RA* indicates "Lady of the deity", and thus it can be taken for a genitival form.⁹⁹⁹ Stol, who has recently made an important observation regarding the title of the *NIN.DINGIR*, mentions an exemplar of the series *Ḫarra* = *ḫubullu* from Emar (around the 14th century BCE), which shows the Sumerian reading *eriš.dingir.ra* translated in Akkadian as *ēntu* (written *i-ti*).¹⁰⁰⁰ This shows first that the form is a genetival one, and second that during the period of the New Hittite kingdom the Akkadian form *ēntu* was used for the *NIN.DINGIR* in the vassal land of Emar.¹⁰⁰¹

As for the Hittite noun behind the Sumerogram, we can only

⁹⁹⁶ See Goetze (1940) 61-67, and Haas (1994) 394-395; 400-401.

⁹⁹⁷ See above 4.1.6.1 p. 174 under KUB 8.71, and parallel texts. See also KUB 32.133 iv 1'-4' (above p. 177) with Miller (2002) 425-427.

⁹⁹⁸ Steinkeller (1999) 122. Lately, Marchesi (2004) 186-189 summarized the attestations of the Sumerian word *NIN* and confirmed that the Sumerogram *NIN*, read *ereš* or *eriš*, corresponds to Akkadian *bēltu* ("lady") and *šarratu* ("queen"). He agrees with the reading of *NIN.DINGIR* as "lady-god" and *eriš* ⁴*nin-urta* he translates "the lady of (belonging to) Ninurta(k)" p. 187 n. 192.

⁹⁹⁹ CAD, E: 173^b.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Stol (2000) 460. This title existed already from the Sargonic period in Sumer as the female form of the *en*. There was also a pre-Sargonic *ereš-dingir* of Pabilsag.

¹⁰⁰¹ For a study of the *NIN.DINGIR* of Emar, see Fleming (1992).

present the suffixes added to the Sumerogram without knowing what the Hittite noun was. What follows are the attestations.

In most of the cases *NIN.DINGIR* appears without complements. In others it is *NIN.DINGIR-aš* either for the nominative or for the genitive cases. There are attestations for the nominative with the particle *-a* (*NIN.DINGIR-ša*) and also with the particle *-ia* (*NIN.DINGIR-ia*). There are several attestations of the dative as *NIN.DINGIR-i* as well as an accusative *NIN.DINGIR-an*. To these we can add two cases of a form of a dative *NIN.DINGIR-ri* which may give a clue to the Hittite noun behind the Sumerogram.¹⁰⁰² It could be a noun ending with *-r*.¹⁰⁰³

We may also refer to our previously-noted correlation between the Kizzuwatnean *ENTU* and the *katra/i*-priestess in the texts regarding the cult of the Deity of the Night. This suggested identification of the Sumerogram *NIN.DINGIR* with the Hittite word *katra/i* is made with great reservations, mainly because of the fact that the Hittite texts speak of only a single priestess *NIN.DINGIR*, while the *katra/i*-priestesses are found in the plural.¹⁰⁰⁴ Also, the title *katra/i* comes from Kizzuwatna and relates to the Hurrian and North Syrian traditions, not to the Hittite of central Anatolian Hattian tradition.¹⁰⁰⁵ But on the other hand, the Hittites themselves, who identified the priestess as a *NIN.DINGIR* in relation to the Mesopotamian North Syrian traditions, may have identified the priestess *katra/i* in their own cult as the *ēntu*, thus the *NIN.DINGIR*. If the *SANGA*-priest of KUB 40.2 is a royal prince such as Telipinu and probably also Kantuzzili, who was appointed for priesthood in Kizzuwatna, can the *ENTU* of that text be a royal princess, and in that role be parallel to a *NIN.DINGIR* of Hattuša?

In light of the above description, the Hittite *NIN.DINGIR* can certainly be considered a high priestess officiating next to the king and the queen, or a priestess carrying out some ceremonies on her own as in CTH 738.¹⁰⁰⁶ In the following a description of her activity will be given. It is quite illuminating that in several texts her performance is very much similar to that of the king, mainly in traveling to different towns or locations in the vicinity of Hattuša

¹⁰⁰² KBo 23.74 iii 14' ; KBo 25.46 8'.

¹⁰⁰³ See Neu, *StBoT* 26: 261. And also Pecchioli Daddi (1982) 420.

¹⁰⁰⁴ See Pecchioli Daddi (1982) 392.

¹⁰⁰⁵ See Miller (2002) 423, and for the possible etymology of the name *katra*, pp. 424-425.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Pecchioli Daddi (1987b) 363.

using a carriage; also, during the rites, like him she is seen breaking the bread, drinking the gods and offering libations to the gods.

6.2.3 The status of the Hittite NIN.DINGIR according to the texts

Before dealing with the Hittite NIN.DINGIR in detail, I would like to present several criteria through which I intend to investigate this cult functionary. I intend to show that her cultic role may have been vital for the royal family, and that she performed important rituals on its behalf.

The office of the NIN.DINGIR will be presented under the following criteria:

1. The NIN.DINGIR's cultic status.
2. The NIN.DINGIR's socioeconomic status.
3. Description of the NIN.DINGIR's main cultic activity.
4. The relation between the NIN.DINGIR and other cult functionaries.
5. The religious environment of the NIN.DINGIR:
 - a. The places mentioned in the rituals - areas of cult activity.
 - b. Cultic and non-cultic places the NIN.DINGIR frequents.
 - c. The deities mentioned in the rituals the NIN.DINGIR performs.

6.2.3.1 The cultic status of the NIN.DINGIR

In the Hittite texts the NIN.DINGIR cannot be found in a plural form. In each text where she appears there is only one NIN.DINGIR, who is neither attached to a specific deity nor given a private name or connection to a certain town. She is always engaged in her cultic functions and therefore is never a private persona. Only once do we have a different definition for the NIN.DINGIR, in the fragment KBo 19.128 (CTH 625) belonging to the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM-festival. In this text column ii starts with a list of bread offerings to some 20 deities, ending with this last offering (ii 11): 1 NINDA.GUR₄.RA ŠA NIN.DINGIR ^dZi-it-ḫa-ri-ja: "One thick bread (to) the deity Zithariya of the NIN.DINGIR (= to the protective deity of the NIN.DINGIR)". I translated as if the offered bread is to the NIN.DINGIR's deity, although there is no preposition "to" in the text. This translation is based on the fact that all previous lines indicate specifically the preposition ANA = "to" the deity, whereas our line has no ANA but rather ŠA. This should be compared with combinations involving this deity in connection with the king

or the queen: ŠA MUNUS.LUGAL ^dZithariya. Therefore, the meaning should be a specific Zithariya who is the private protective deity of the NIN.DINGIR, in an equal position to the king and the queen.¹⁰⁰⁷ McMahon¹⁰⁰⁸ wrote at length on ^dZithariya as a protective (tutelary) god, and he traced its origin as a Hattian deity from the town Zithara. He then added several characteristics related to this god which may help us to understand it in relation to the NIN.DINGIR's appearance. ^dZithariya has as its cult image the *kurša*, "the hunting-bag". The hunting bag is mentioned several times in rituals performed by the NIN.DINGIR, as will be seen below.

In speaking of the NIN.DINGIR's cultic status, it becomes clear that she is in many ways similar in her cultic rank to the king and the queen. In several rituals it is stated that the king and the queen drink to a certain deity followed by an indication that the NIN.DINGIR, too, drinks. For this one may examine KBo 20.85 rev. iv 3, and KBo 19.163 col. iii which also describes the NIN.DINGIR drinking several gods and breaking bread repeatedly. Normally, in these descriptions she is the primary actor, but then suddenly on line 31 and 36 the king and the queen are drinking while the NIN.DINGIR only breaks the bread. Later the NIN.DINGIR drinks the deities once again. It seems that the NIN.DINGIR performs sections of the ritual on behalf of the king and the queen.

A major text to be examined concerning the NIN.DINGIR's cultic status is KBo 22.196, which includes a colophon dedicated to the NIN.DINGIR. The language of this text shows its origin in the Old Hittite tradition.¹⁰⁰⁹ The colophon starts with words that should be considered as the title of the series of tablets: "Tablet no. 1 of the [festival?]¹⁰¹⁰ of the NIN.DINGIR [." The problem is that the text breaks and the continuation does not tell which festival is celebrated, nor in what way the NIN.DINGIR is involved. This fragment includes the end of a ritual where the NIN.DINGIR makes offerings to different gods in succession, together with the *ḫapiya-*

¹⁰⁰⁷ Houwink ten Cate (1988) 188 n. 44 is of the opinion that the *Zithariya* of the king and the queen should be regarded as a later adoption of the early empire period. This may shed light on the dating of the *Zithariya* of the NIN.DINGIR. See also McMahon (1991) 25.

¹⁰⁰⁸ McMahon (1991) 20-22.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Its script shows MH forms.

¹⁰¹⁰ For this possible restoration see Otten, KBo XVII Inhaltsübersicht IV.

men and (her) scepter-bearer. The rest of the colophon indicates the content of the tablet in the customary manner, and states:

- 14' [DU]B 1? KAM ŠA NIN.DINGIR ŠA[
 15' [k]u-it-ma-an LUGAL-uš [ʔ]-[NA
 16' pa-iz-zi NIN.DINGIR-ma [LÚ^{MES} ha-a-pí-e-eš-ša
 17' [ta]r-ku-an-zi ma-aḥ-ḥa[-an DINGIR^{MES}
 18' [ir-ḥ]i-iš-ki-iz-z[i]

Tablet no. 1 of the [festival? ...] of the NIN.DINGIR
 When the king [into
 goes. But (as for) the NIN.DINGIR [and the *ḥapiya*-men]
 they [d]ance, while [she to the gods]
 keeps [o]ffering in succession.¹⁰¹¹

The text preceding the colophon is as follows:

Rev.

- 4' ta NIN.DINGIR nam-ma[I-NA É LÚ^{MES} ha-pi-eš]
 The NIN.DINGIR
 further [into the
 house of the *ḥapiya*-men]
 5' tar-ku-zi LÚ^{MES} ha-a-[pí-e-eš-ša] dances. [and] The *ḥa[piya]*-men[
 6' QA-TAM-MA tar-ku-an-z[i] in that same way they danc[e].
 7' I-NA É.GAL^{LIM} ú-[en-zi] Into the palace th[ey come?]
-
- 8' nam-ma ša-ra-a I-NA [Further, up to [
 9' pa-iz-zi nu a-da-an-n[a] goes. To eat[
 10' ta-aš-ši GAL LÚ^{MES} ha-a-p[í] To her the overseer of the
ḥap[ia]-men[
 11' da-a-an pé-e-da-aš LÚ ha[-a-pí- (and) second in
 command¹⁰¹² of the *ḥa[piya]*-man[
 12' LÚ^{GIS} GIDRU-ja pí-ra-aš-ši-it[The scepter-bearer, too, in
 front of her[
 13' DINGIR^{MES} QA-TAM-MA ir-ḥa-a-iz-[zi]
 To the gods thus she offe[rs] in succession.

Edge of tablet

The colophon indicates the fact that the NIN.DINGIR performs a

¹⁰¹¹ Houwink ten Cate thinks this colophon should be compared with KBo 10.27. It certainly does relate to this text in the description of the rituals as well as the roles of the NIN.DINGIR and the *ḥapiya*-men.

¹⁰¹² *dan pedaš* could also be translated as "second rate/quality", CHD P: 344^a. The *tan pedaš ḥapiyaš* is mentioned together with the GAL LÚ^{MES} *ḥapiyaš* in 19.163 i 29', iv 1 // KBo 25.48 ii 15. This may relate the text KBo 22.196 to the texts of *Tetešḥapi* (= CTH 738) as well.

ritual during a festival, next to the king and in relation to him. Ritually, then, she is as important as the king. The queen is not mentioned in this colophon. The appearance of the NIN.DINGIR next to the performing king and queen is also seen in the following text, KUB 56.46 ii 1'-7': "The cupbearer gives thick bread to the king. The king ² breaks (it). The cupbearer holds to the king a thick bread and he brings (it) forward. ³ When for the king and the queen, as well as the NIN.DINGIR, ⁴ they take the cups, the INANNA lyre ⁵ they repeatedly play, (and) the *arkammi*-instrument ⁶ they beat, the *ḥapiya*-men ⁷ dance." The NIN.DINGIR in this scene is clearly among the high-ranking priests officiating: king-queen-NIN.DINGIR.

The NIN.DINGIR also appears next to the LÚ *tuḥukanti*, a title which probably refers to the crown prince.¹⁰¹³ The *tuḥukanti* appears together with the NIN.DINGIR in a ritual to the deity Tetešḥapi, but the NIN.DINGIR performs at that stage of the ritual to the Sun-god, Mezzula, the Storm-god, and the Storm-god of Zippalanda, as well as Ḥapantali (KBo 19.163 ii 42'-57' and iii 18'). It is important to note that the *tuḥukanti* performs in this ritual together with the king and the queen. If we consider that the *tuḥukanti* is the crown prince then the NIN.DINGIR performs with the most important members of the royal family (king, queen, and crown-prince) in a ritual where the main deity is Tetešḥapi.

The NIN.DINGIR's performance must be understood as done on behalf of the royal family, especially in light of the texts which include singing in Ḥattic and mention the cultic titles of king and queen, La/Tabarna and Tawananna. The two texts mentioning the titles (one is KUB 11.32+KBo 21.103 3', 12' while the other is KBo 19.161 iv 18' // 21.90 obv. 34' rev. 39'-40') look like some kind of blessing for the king and queen in a celebration to the deity Tetešḥapi.

The NIN.DINGIR is welcomed and is accompanied by a SANGA-priest. It appears as if she is in a higher position than he is, for whereas in KBo 19.163 iv 2 he is counted among other officials acting in the ritual, the NIN.DINGIR receives separate attention. In KUB 11.32+20.17 the SANGA-priest twice leads the NIN.DINGIR in and out of the tent for the deities (iii 5-6, iv 1'-3', 20'-23', v 5'-7'). The SANGA-priest is regarded among the higher priests regularly officiating in the temples.¹⁰¹⁴

¹⁰¹³ To be written also *tuḥukanti*. See Tischler, HEG T,D/3: 409.

¹⁰¹⁴ See above under LÚ SANGA 4.1.7 pp. 203-217.

6.2.3.2 Symbols of status

Several items may indicate the status of the NIN.DINGIR, mainly in comparison with the king's activity and symbols carried during rituals. The items clearly referring to the NIN.DINGIR's royal status include:

1. Wearing the deity's vestments, *šiunaš aniyatta*. Compare with the king at KUB 58.33, 26'-27': "the deity's cloth, the *adupli*-coat, he wears".¹⁰¹⁵
2. A scepter and a scepter-bearer, who runs in front of the NIN.DINGIR.
3. The use of a carriage to transport the NIN.DINGIR from temple to temple and from town to town. On the ^{GIS}*huluganni* as a royal insignia, reference should be made to Otten's treatment of the ritual KBo 19.128.¹⁰¹⁶

KBo 17.101 iii 11'-20' describes a stage in the rituals the NIN.DINGIR performs: "The NIN.DINGIR goes into the inner-chamber.¹² She puts on the *aniyatta*.¹⁰¹⁷ Then she comes (out),¹⁴ and to the deity she bows.¹⁵ Then she sits herself¹⁶ in the carriage. The *hapiya*-men¹⁷ adorned, in front of her¹⁸ proceed.¹⁹ The [men] of the town *Anunuwa*²⁰ sing in front of her". The NIN.DINGIR receives special treatment as a cult official, which in a way is reminiscent of the treatment the king receives as he comes to offer to the gods. He too changes clothes, washes, and then offers bread and wine served by the temple personnel.

To the above should be added the fact that in many of the rituals, the NIN.DINGIR is described as being held by the palace attendants: in intervals between acts, or when she comes and goes (KBo 25.48 iii 8' and KBo 20.79 9'-10'). Thus also, for example, KUB 56.46 i 33'-36': "The NIN.DINGIR comes (out). Two palace attendants, one on this side and one on the other, hold (her)" (dupl. KBo 25.31 obv. ii 9'). In KBo 10.27 iii 21' they are identified as belonging to her: ²¹ ŠA NIN.DINGIR DUMU^{MES} É.GAL^{TIM} *appa-an-zi*, which may be translated "The palace attendants of the NIN.DINGIR take (their place)".¹⁰¹⁸

¹⁰¹⁵ Regarding the king's clothing, Haas says it gives the king a new identity, causing some transformation during his enthronement while he wears the deity's clothes. More on this see under 6.3 p. 423.

¹⁰¹⁶ Otten, *StBoT* 13: 20-21.

¹⁰¹⁷ With *HW*² A: 89a : *nu-za a-ni-ja-at-ta da-[a]-[i]*.

¹⁰¹⁸ Another possible translation is: "The palace attendants of the NIN.DINGIR finish", which means: Once she arrives at the temple they finish their work

6.2.3.3 The socioeconomic status of the NIN.DINGIR

Since the texts under discussion come from a cultic milieu, the description of the NIN.DINGIR's socioeconomic status should relate to the cult, and to the fact that different institutions in the kingdom are responsible for providing for the rituals in which she either participates or actually leads.

KUB 10.48+ (CTH 626) clearly states the relationship between the NIN.DINGIR and the state cult storage houses. In this text, which is part of an outline of the *nuntarriyašha*-festival, an instruction is given regarding the cult supplies for the NIN.DINGIR's use.¹⁰¹⁹ The text is as follows

col. ii:

1 lu-uk-kat-ti[(-ma-kán LUGAL-uš kat-t)a^{URU} Ha-at-tu-ša-az?]
 2 IŠ-TU KÁ.GAL^{URU}[(Zi-ip-pa-la-a)n-da I-NA^{URU}Har-r(a-na-aš-ši)]
 3 pa-iz-zi nu-za I-NA^{URU}Har-ra-n[a-aš-ši^{dU/IM}URUHar-ra-na-aš-ši]
 4 i-ja-zi nu NIN.DINGIR-ma IŠ-TU^{1É1}[ha-l(i-in-du-aš?)]
 5 I-NA É^{LÚ}IŠ tar-ku-u-ya-an-zi[(i-ja-at-ta-ri)]

6 nu-za ir-ḫi-iš-ki-iz-zi a-da¹-an-na-ma-aš-ši a-ku-[(u)]a-[(an-na)]
 7 3 É^{MES}GAL ŠA É.GAL^{URU}Ni-na-aš-ša É^{URU}T[u-ya-nu-ya]
 8 É.GAL^{URU}Ḫu-pi-iš-na-ja ar-ta-ri UD 12[KAM]

1 The next day the king descends [from Hattuša?]
 2 through the gate of Zippala[nda towards Hara]našši
 3 And in Haranašši he celebrates [the Storm-god?]
 4 [of Haranašši]. While the NIN.DINGIR, proceeds from the
 5 [halentua]-house¹
 to dance in the house of the stable-man (groom?).

6 She offers (to the gods) in succession. For her eating (and) drinking,
 7 there are three palaces¹⁰²⁰ available - the palace of Ninašša, the house
 of T[uwanuwa]
 8 and the palace of Ḫupišna. Day 12.

until she appears again to leave the temple. Compare with KBo 25.31 ii 11-12.

¹⁰¹⁹ This was already pointed out by Houwink ten Cate (1988) 174ff, as showing the status of the NIN.DINGIR in the cult.

¹⁰²⁰ The Hittite word is written in the Sumerogram - É^{MES}GAL - which can be translated "palaces" or, as Houwink ten Cate translates, "large institutions". Since these are institutions which deliver supplies to the festival, they should be understood as royal institutions providing for the official cult.

(KBo 21.90 obv. 22'; KBo 10.27 iii 24'; KUB 10.48+ ii 4-5).

7. The NIN.DINGIR pours libations to the gods. She is said also to stand by the window during the ritual process, or place bread there (KBo 21.93 ii 7').

8. Arriving at a temple she is sometime said to request food.

9. She travels between temples, but there are also a few references to a tent which houses the deity to whom she comes to pay homage (KUB 11.32+20.17 iv 1'-3' and 16'-23', where the SANGA-priest takes the deity in and out of the tent. See also KBo 25.31 ii 16'; KBo 25.35 iii 4').

10. In one case the NIN.DINGIR is squatting, together with a young *šiwanzanna*-priestess. The texts indicate that this act of squatting is done by palace as well as temple personnel but is not, to my knowledge, mentioned as being performed by either the king or the queen.¹⁰²⁶

During all her activities she is never mentioned as being alone with the king. Various cult personnel or royal members are always accompanying them.

6.2.4.1 The relation between the NIN.DINGIR and other cult functionaries

The NIN.DINGIR is accompanied and assisted by different personnel, such as temple workers, cultic performers, palace attendants and others who have an important role in creating the ceremonial atmosphere of the rituals.

The NIN.DINGIR is accompanied by cultic and non-cultic personnel. Most of the men and women mentioned are part of the regular cult in Hattuša and other towns, whereas a small number of people, actually only three, are not part of the cultic personnel.

The non-cultic figures are: (*uddanaš*) EN^{HLA} - "the lords of the affair" (KUB 11.32+ iii 12); LÚ DUGUD - "a dignitary" (KUB 25.51 i 3'); and LÚ AGRIG^{URU} Hatti - "overseer, administrator of Hattuša" (KUB 56.46 i 10'). The lords of the affair and the dignitary participate personally in the cult: the "lords" follow the NIN.DINGIR during her travel between temples, while the administrator offers fruits to the deity. These personnel add a wider participation to the ritual: not only royal members and temple personnel participate, but the "public" as well. To this we can add the reference to the MUNUS^{MES} KAR.KID, who provide a *galuppa* cloth for the ritual

¹⁰²⁶ CHD P/2: 190.

in KUB 56.46 i 26'.¹⁰²⁷ Likewise, in this same text the representative of the town of Hattuša is mentioned as the one who provides breads for the ritual. It seems, though, that the NIN.DINGIR is regarded as the highest priest at the ritual. The gods accept the offerings of the participants in the form of the different donations to the cult, presented to them by the NIN.DINGIR.

6.2.4.2 The cult personnel accompanying the NIN.DINGIR

1. Direct assistants to the NIN.DINGIR:

This group includes: 1) LÚ^{GIS} GIDRU, "scepter-bearer" or, more specifically, NIN.DINGIR-aš LÚ^{GIS} GIDRU-aš ("The scepter-bearer of the NIN.DINGIR"), whose job is to go in front of the NIN.DINGIR and to run to the hearth and back during the ritual session. He functions as a herald of the NIN.DINGIR: seeing him means the NIN.DINGIR is approaching. He is not reported as speaking, however. 2) DUMU^{MES} É.GAL, "the palace attendants". They are usually two in number, and their duty is to walk with the NIN.DINGIR and hold her on each side (KBo 19.161 i 15'-18'). They hold her during the ritual when she stands, and let her turn around on the spot. During the rituals they have fixed places on which they are supposed to stand (KUB 56.46 i 34'-5').

2. Temple servants responsible for food and beverage:

This group of temple workers serves the leader of the ritual, be it the king, the queen, or the *tuhukanti*, and thus also the NIN.DINGIR. They are responsible for bringing the different materials for the offerings such as the tables, which are brought by the LÚ^{MES} GIB^{GIS} BANŠUR, "table-men". They set the tables and sometimes also bring the bread; they present it to the king and, after he breaks it, they place it back on the table. This duty is also done by the "cupbearer" (19.161 i 14'-26'). They have an overseer named GAL LU^{MES} GIB^{GIS} BANŠUR - "overseer of the table-men". Usually the people responsible for the cups and beverage are the LÚ^{MES} SAGIA, "the cupbearers". The cupbearers bring the cups and also bring breads from outside. When the king, queen, or the NIN.DINGIR break the breads, he takes the pieces and puts them back on the tables, or next to the altar or wherever bread is needed (19.161 i 1ff.). LÚ MU(HALDIM), "the cook", appears twice in our texts: once in connection with the *zaluwanin* ("plate") which he

¹⁰²⁷ GAD-i ga-[lu-]up-pa-[a]n MUNUS^{MES} KAR.KID pi-a[n-z]i "the prostitutes provide for the cloth a *ga[lu]ppa* (=underwear?)."

serves the NIN.DINGIR together with the table-man (KBo 20.85 iii 5'-7'); the second time he is mentioned with liver meat (KBo 25.43 rev. 7').

LÚ^{MES} *damšatalli* (20.32 ii 3-4 ; KUB 56.46 ii 28'-30') lay out bread and meat on the tables for those who offer it.

LÚ^{MES} *haliyami* (25.47 iv 15'): the name is mentioned with no indication of what they do. According to Puhvel, the *haliyami* is a cult official associated with bread brought to the ritual. He suggests that the name derives from *hali*, meaning "apportioner".¹⁰²⁸

3. Temple priests:

SANGA-priest. The regular priest initiating a ritual is the LÚ SANGA, with no specification for a deity. Priests belonging to a certain god are also mentioned in the NIN.DINGIR's texts. The SANGA-priest is said to lift the deities, or to lead them in and out of the temple or the tent (KUB 11.32+ iii 5, iv 20'-21').

Priests who serve a certain deity are mentioned in the texts as follows:

- The LÚ SANGA ^dTetešha(wa)pi appears in the rituals for the deity Tetešhapi (KBo 19.163 iv 2'; 21.90 obv. 4'-5', 15'; 20.80 10'; 25.48 ii 11; KUB 11.32+20.17 iii 5; VBoT i? 4').

- The LÚ SANGA ^dTelipinu appears at the temple of the Storm-god (KBo 24.98 9' 17').

- The LÚ SANGA ^{KUS}[*kurša*], "the SANGA-priest of the [KURŠA]-bag", appears in the temple of Zithariya (KBo 10.27 iii 42').

Also appearing as a group of priests are LÚ^{MES} SANGA ^dKampiwuit (KUB 56.46 i 12') and LÚ^{MES} SANGA ^dTelipinu (19.138 obv. 9', 12').

In general, these SANGA-priests are part of the ceremony inside the temple, close to the deity, and it seems that they are not always called by the name of their deity, but rather merely as SANGA-priest. (KUB 56.46 i 30': "the SANGA-priest runs in front of the deity Inara". Earlier it was the SANGA-priests of the deity Kampiwuit who held the "*kurša*-bag").

GUDU-priest. A LÚ GUDU^{URU} Dawiniya is mentioned a few times in the texts (KBo 25.34+20.26 obv. 8'; KUB 56.46 vi 19'; 17.43//17.18 i 8). In these texts this priest seems to be connected with delivering material for the cult. It is not clear whether the

¹⁰²⁸ Puhvel, *HED* 3: 30. Thus also *HW*² H: 38-39.

material is for the NIN.DINGIR's usage or for the dramatized myth to follow, since the *tarašiya*-artist is mentioned on the same line. In the beginning of this ritual the GUDU¹²-priest carries a libation vessel made of silver, which is his main characteristic as a libating priest.¹⁰²⁹ In a broken line in KBo 25.31 ii 6' he is named as the GUDU-priest of the deity Inara. In this text the young man and woman deliver the message of this deity.

Priestesses. In KBo 20.84 9' the *šiwanzanna*-priestesses as a group welcome the NIN.DINGIR in a broken context. Either a young *šiwanzanna*-priestess or a son of a *šiwanzanna*-priestess, called DUMU.MUNUS.AMA.DINGIR^{LIM} (KUB 11.32+20.17 ii 8, 25), worships the deity together with the NIN.DINGIR when the two of them enter the tent of the deity (probably Tetešhapi). We do not know in what way the young person assists the NIN.DINGIR since the tablet is broken. A fragment which may belong to this ritual is KBo 37.51+IBoT 3.68. It mentions on the obv. a DUMU MUNUS.AMA.DINGIR^{LIM} together with the NIN.DINGIR in front of, and behind, the hearth. The reverse line 4 mentions the deity Tetešhapi.

4. Personnel whose duty it is to add musical effects to the rituals, as well as preforming a scene of a drama before the gods:

Several groups of people, both men and women, are said to be singing or playing a musical instrument. The LÚ NAR - "singer", who receives bread from the cupbearer during the ritual (perhaps as a payment). The MUNUS^{MES} *zintuḫies* are a large group of singers who follow the NIN.DINGIR in every procession. They are a well-known group of singers, mentioned in many Hittite cultic texts,¹⁰³⁰ who accompany the NIN.DINGIR all through the procession, singing to her in Ḫattic. The GAL MUNUS^{MES} *zintuḫies* ("overseer of the *zintuḫi*-women") calls out, and the rest answer her in the same way (KUB 11.32+ ii 1ff.). Next to them are the LÚ^{MES} URU *Anunuwa* (10.27 iii 14'; 20.90 iv 3'), who are always mentioned as singing. Then come the LÚ^{MES} *halleri* (20.32 9'; 20.85+ iv 4), which Puhvel translates as "cantors", who also sing throughout the KI.LAM festival and thus appear in this fragment of the festival. Both groups sing accompanied by INANNA lyre or the instruments called

¹⁰²⁹ See above on the GUDU¹²-priest 4.2.4.2 p. 242.

¹⁰³⁰ For a short overview of the *zintuḫi*-singers see Rutherford (2004) 379.

arkammi and *galgalturi*.¹⁰³¹ The players of the musical instruments are also mentioned once, as MUNUS^{MES} *arkamiyaš* (10.27 iii 16').

Among the artists, the most important ones in regard to the NIN.DINGIR are the LÚ^{MES} *hapiēš*, "the *hapiya*-men". They are described as *unuwanteš*, "adorned", which means they are probably dressed in special clothes. They are situated around the NIN.DINGIR throughout the rituals. They follow her in the processions together with the *zintuḫi*-women and they walk during the ceremonies in the temple (10.27 iv 6'-12'). Their most important performance is dancing, within the temple or outside it, by themselves or together with the NIN.DINGIR. They have an "overseer", GAL LÚ^{MES} *hapiēš*, and a "second in command", *tan pedaš* LÚ^{hapiya} (19.163 i 19'-20'; 25.48 ii 15'). The *hapiya*-men are from Hattuša as well as Tawiniya, and are called respectively LÚ^{MES} *hapiēš* ŠA^{URU} *Tawiniya* (19.161 i 4'; 19.163 iii 11; KUB 56.46 vi 10'; 17.18 i 18),¹⁰³² and LÚ^{MES} *hapiēš* URU^{Hatti} (25.31 ii 9'// 25.42 6'; 25.49 r. col. 11').¹⁰³³ As a group of cult functionaries they are connected with the *purulli*-festival in KUB 8.69 iii 5-9: "First tablet - During the *purulli*-festival, when the *hapiya*-men put on them the ornaments, and when they prepare the cultic share, how the *zintuḫi*-women sing the large song". This shelf-list tablet makes reference to a tablet which describes the two groups of entertainers, the *zintuḫi*-singers and the dancers who are most prominent by their ornaments. Indeed, their ornaments are mentioned in the KI.LAM-festival as well KBo 10.31 iv 29'-24'. The *hapiya*-men receive the ornaments from the house of the wooden-tablet scribe.¹⁰³⁴ They must have been an important group of artists since in our texts they have a house in which the NIN.DINGIR holds an assembly on the first day of a festival (KBo 10.27 iii 25').¹⁰³⁵ It seems reasonable, although not certain, that there could be a connection between the name *hapiya* and the name of the Hattian deity Tetešhapi. It should be noted, however,

¹⁰³¹ Puhvel, *HED* 3: 30-31.

¹⁰³² LÚ^{MES} URU^{Dawiniya} (20.5 iii 15') may be referring to the *hapiya*-men of this town.

¹⁰³³ Puhvel, *HED* 3:122-123, says that these cultic performers frequently appear in old Hittite texts and in Hittite-Hattic bilingual. Therefore he places them in the Hattic religious sphere.

¹⁰³⁴ Singer, *StBoT* 28: 105.

¹⁰³⁵ See above 6.2.3.3 p. 396.

that both the *hapiya*-men and the deity Tetešhapi have a strong affiliation with the town Tawiniya.

The last group among those participating in the "drama" performance are the LÚ^{ALAN.ZU}, (some kind of performers: 25.34+ obv. 19'-24'), who are always described as calling out "*aḫa*": perhaps signaling a turning point in the ritual, or an end of a scene.

5. Special participants:

Pecchioli Daddi identifies a group of people as members of the festival for the deity Tetešhapi, since she believes the texts in which they are mentioned belong to this festival (CTH 738).¹⁰³⁶ They are enacting a drama with which the deity Tetešhapi is associated, and which includes animals as well as a hunter. The characters include LÚ^{PIRIG.TUR} = LÚ^{parašna}, "leopard-man" (KUB 25.51 i 2'); LÚ^{menea}, "the hunter or bowman" (19.163 i 22'); LÚ^{GIR}, "the man of the knife" (19.163 i 22'); and the LÚ^{šerḫala}, the one who uses the *šerḫa*-substance during the ritual to wipe the mouth or the legs of the participants (19.163 i 22'). Also there is the *tarašiya*-man who plays with an arrow and hits the other participants. All these men appear in the ritual on KBo 17.43 and parallel texts.

Next are the man or woman, who appear interchangeably in the texts, whose function is to carry a message either from the deity Inara or to her. Pecchioli Daddi, who connects Inara in this context to the old Hittite myth of the disappearing deity, suggested that this is a kind of dramatization of the Illuyanka myth, performed during the *purulli*-festival.¹⁰³⁷ The young man and woman are called DUMU.NITA *palwatalleš*, "the one who cries out"¹⁰³⁸ (25.31 ii 4'-5'), and DUMU.MUNUS *palwatalleš* (25.31 ii 4'-5'). But there are also the young couple DUMU.NITA and DUMU.MUNUS *taḫiyala* who also deliver the message of the deity (25.41 9//25.42 13').¹⁰³⁹

To sum up this section, the personnel assisting the NIN.DINGIR, inside and outside the temples she visits, are mostly

¹⁰³⁶ Pecchioli Daddi (1987b) 365.

¹⁰³⁷ See her treatment of the group of texts with "the message of *Inara*": Pecchioli Daddi (1988) 194-197.

¹⁰³⁸ For this functionary who "cries out", see *CHD* P/1: 83-85.

¹⁰³⁹ LÚ^{MES} *daḫiyaleš* in 20.32 ii 7 and 11.44 iv 7'-12' are enacting a different cult performance. Also the young woman DUMU.MUNUS LÚ^{parenni} (25.48 iii 6') is mentioned but without description of her activity.

from the cultic sphere. She is treated by them like a high priestess and even like royalty. The environment of the rituals is of a festive celebration with singing and dancing, and even includes a dramatization of a myth.

6.2.5 The religious environment of the NIN.DINGIR

The fragmentary state of the texts mentioning the NIN.DINGIR allow neither a comprehensive description of her in relation to certain deities, nor her connection to certain locations in the Hittite kingdom. However, the material suggests a closer affiliation with certain deities than others, as well as with principal towns where she was active.

A) The towns mentioned in the NIN.DINGIR rituals:

Anunuwa - 17.101 iii 19'; 19.127 6'; KUB 20.90 iv 3'; 10.27 iii 14' v 30';

Arinna - KUB 10.52 i 5';

Aripuš(a) - KUB 10.48+ i 1;

Ḫaranašši - KUB 10.48+ ii 2,3;

Ḫattuša - KUB 10.48+ ii 17; KUB 10.48+ ii 21; 25.49 right col. 11'; 25.41+ obv. 4;

KUB 56.46 i 36'

Ḫupišna - KUB 10.48+ ii 8;

Katapa - KUB 10.48+ ii 11;

Lamanḫila - 17.9+20+20.5+ iii 23';

Ninašša - KUB 10.48+ ii 7;

Nirḫanta - KUB 10.48+ ii 19;

Taḫurpa - KUB 10.48+ i 5,9; KUB 10.48+ ii 15;

Ta[ḫa/la]ya? - 25.48 ii 9;

Tawiniya/ Dawiniya - 19.161 i 4'; 19.163 iii 11; KUB 11.32+ iii 10; 17.9+20+20.5+ iii 15';

VBoT 32 i' 3'; 17.18/ 17.43 i 8, 18 iv 19'; KUB 56.46 vi 10';

KUB 56.46 vi 19'

Tipuwa - KUB 10.48+ ii 17;

T[uwanuwa] - KUB 10.48+ ii 7;

Wargatauwi KUB 11.32+ iii 25;

Zippalanda - KUB 10.48+ ii 9; KUB 10.52 i 6';

In the above list I have noted all the temples and towns mentioned in the texts, including those associated with people performing in

the rituals, who belong to a certain town such as "the *ḫapiya*-men of Ḫattuša" or "the men from Anunuwa". Although they may have been performing in Ḫattuša at the time of the ritual being conducted, they are related to that specific town, which may have been the source of the religious tradition of this cult.¹⁰⁴⁰

Three towns are mentioned most often: Tawiniya/Dawiniya, Ḫattuša, and Anunuwa.

Tawiniya is mentioned in relation to cultic activity during festivals as a place to which people go from Ḫattuša. Along the way there is a forest, and scholars have tried to identify it with Alaca Hüyük or some other villages in the vicinity. Haas identifies it with the village Nefesköy about 15 km. from Ḫattuša.¹⁰⁴¹ It is clear that the town is located within a half day or a day's journey by carriage from Ḫattuša, and that it is one of the oldest Ḫattic cult centers.¹⁰⁴² The town is mentioned as a central place for the cult of the deity Tetešhapi, with whom the NIN.DINGIR is most often related (on this see below). The NIN.DINGIR goes out of Ḫattuša to Tawiniya (KUB 11.32+20.12 iii 10) and comes back to Ḫattuša (KUB 25.51 iv 13', with dupl. KUB 48.17 8'). On the way to Tawiniya she stops over at Wargatauwi (KUB 11.32+iii 25).

Some of the participants in the rituals of the NIN.DINGIR are said to originate from this town: (1) The *ḫapiya*-men of Tawiniya (KBo 19.161 i 4'; KUB 56.46 vi 10'; and KBo 17.18//17.43 i 18 where they bring livers to the cook); (2) A GUDU-priest of Dawiniya who libates (in KBo 17.18//17.43 i 8) and takes care of other parts of the ritual (KUB 56.46 vi 19' ;KBo 25.34+ obv. 8'); (3) Men of the town Dawiniya mentioned in relation to liver meat (KBo 20.5 iii 15').

Obviously, *Ḫattuša* is mentioned several times, as the town to depart from or to return to (KUB 11.32+ iii 10; KUB 25.51 iv 13'). Personnel related to Ḫattuša are only the *ḫapiya*-men of Ḫattuša, of which there are 14, whose role is to accompany the NIN.DINGIR on her journey (KBo 25.31 ii 9'ff.) or to be among the ritual participants (KBo 25.41+ obv. 4// KUB 56.46 i 36'; KBo right col. 11').

Anunuwa is the third town mentioned more than once, but in relation to the professional group of "the men of the town Anunuwa"

¹⁰⁴⁰ Lately Rutherford (2004) 381-384, has suggested such an administrative organization of the cult in Ḫatti.

¹⁰⁴¹ Haas (1994) 729 with notes 127, 129.

¹⁰⁴² RGTC 6/1: 417.

who always sing during the rituals conducted by the NIN.DINGIR and the other participants (KBo 17.101 iii 19'; KBo 10.27 iii 8-17).¹⁰⁴³

The rest of the towns mentioned in the texts are referred to only once or twice. Most of them appear in the *nuntarriyašha*-festival outline KUB 10.48+, indicating towns in the vicinity of Ḫattuša to which the king and queen go during the different days of the festival. These are Aripša,¹⁰⁴⁴ Ḫaranašši,¹⁰⁴⁵ Katapa, Taḫurpa, and Tipuwa. Not much is known about the first two, but the other three are well known in relation to the festivals of the autumn and the spring. These towns are not related directly to the NIN.DINGIR's activity, however, but rather to the king's and the queen's movements during the festivals.¹⁰⁴⁶ The three towns related to the NIN.DINGIR in this text are Ḫupišna, Ninašša, and T[uwanuwa], which are responsible for providing for the needs of the NIN.DINGIR during the festival. The town Ḫupišna is known from old Hittite times as one of the main towns supporting the ruler of Ḫattuša, and in the KI.LAM-festival the palace of Ḫupišna provides for the rituals.¹⁰⁴⁷ Ninašša is identified by most scholars with Nanessos, about 36 kilometers east of Aksaray. It is also a town known from the Old Kingdom days and is mentioned in relation to the difficult times during the period when the Kaška controlled the northern areas of Ḫatti.¹⁰⁴⁸ The third town, T[uwanuwa], is also mentioned in the context of the Kaška-people, where it is said to be controlled by them. In the cultic context this town is also mentioned in the KI.LAM-festival as well as the *nuntarriyašha*-festival as responsible for providing materials for the rituals.¹⁰⁴⁹

The towns Lamanḫila, Arinna, and Zippalanda are mentioned in connection with professionals, either the men of Lamanḫila or SANGA-priests from both Arinna and Zippalanda. Best known are the two old Hittite cult centers Arinna and Zippalanda, but they are mentioned without any connection to either their town or to the NIN.DINGIR directly. They are referred to in KUB 10.52, which describes a ritual conducted by the king, but it resembles

¹⁰⁴³ The location of the city is unknown; see *RGTC* 6/1: 24.

¹⁰⁴⁴ *RGTC* 6/1: 37.

¹⁰⁴⁵ *RGTC* 6/1: 85. 6/2: 29.

¹⁰⁴⁶ For the towns Katapa, Taḫurpa, Tipuwa see respectively *RGTC* 6/1: 197-201, 380-382, and 426-427. All three are mentioned during the festivals.

¹⁰⁴⁷ *RGTC* 6/1: 118-119.

¹⁰⁴⁸ *RGTC* 6/1: 282-283.

¹⁰⁴⁹ *RGTC* 6/1: 447-448.

the ritual KUB 56.46 performed by the NIN.DINGIR. In KUB 56.46 the SANGA-priests are not mentioned.

To conclude, the places mentioned in the texts connect the NIN.DINGIR mainly to Ḫattuša and Tawiniya. She relies on supplies from the traditional cult centers of Ḫatti, but does not necessarily go to these places.

B) Cultic and non-cultic places the NIN.DINGIR frequents:

- Temples or Houses (É) mentioned in the texts
- É DINGIR^{LIM} - 25.51 iv 10'; 10.27 v 19'; VBoT i 17'; KUB 56.46 iv 17'-18' = *šiunaš parna* - KUB 56.46 vi 17'-18';
- É ^dDAG-ti - 17.101 iv 8';
- É ^dḪalkiaš - 10.27 iv 15'; 11.44 iv 2'; KUB 56.46 i 20';
- É ^dKataḫḫa - KUB 59.2 ii 6';
- É ^dLAMMA - KUB 59.2 ii 8';
- É ^{KU}[^sKur-š]a-aš - 10.27 iii 10', 18';
- É ^dTetešḫawapí- 21.100 rev. 12' 16'; 25.48 ii 3; KUB 11.32+ v 3' 9'; 21.95 i 21'; 21.93 i 11';
- [É ^dPa]rga - 10.27 v 9';
- É ^dUTU - 10.27 v 25'; 19.138 obv. 12';
- ^dInaraš parna - KBo 22.189 ii 8; KUB 55.16 obv. 11';
- É A-BU-BI-TI - KUB 59.2 ii 9';

- É *arzanaš* = *arzanaš parna* - KBo 19.163 i 18'; 19.163 iv 42'';
- 21.100 rev. 4'; 25.51 iv 2' 8'; KUB 48.17 3'; Bo 6594 6'-7';
- É *ḫalentuwaš* - KBo 10.27 v 8', 11';
- É ḫé-eš-t[a-a KUB 59.2 iii 1;
- É LÚ^{MES} *ḫapiyaš* - KBo 10.27 iii 25';

The NIN.DINGIR visits different temples while fulfilling her duties to the gods. In the fragmentary texts, some temples are mentioned by the name of the god who resides in them. In other cases, when the NIN.DINGIR is mentioned as being inside a compound or returning to it, the scribe uses the general term for temple, É DINGIR^{LIM} = *šiunaš parna*, rather than indicating which temple it is (KUB 25.51 iv 10'; KBo 10.27 v 19'). On the other hand, the NIN.DINGIR can visit several temples during one ritual, such as in KBo 10.27. She starts at the House of the "kurša-bag" iii 10'. Then she moves to the temple of the deity Ḫalki (iv 15'). Next she arrives at the [temple of P]arga. And then she is said to go to the temple of the Storm-god (v 25'). At the end of the preserved text

she is back at the temple of the “*kurša-bag*” (v 34’). Based on references in the preserved texts, the number of temples that the NIN.DINGIR visits add up to about nine.

The text KUB 59.2 mentions 3 temples: those of ^dKataḥḥa, ^dLAMMA, and *ABUBITI*, “the majordomo-house”. The NIN.DINGIR goes to the first one to perform the ritual of spinning a spindle. The other two are mentioned as part of the duties of the ninth day of the festival, which Houwink ten Cate suggests to be the AN.TAḤ.ŠUM.¹⁰⁵⁰

The temple of the deity Tetešḥapi is mentioned in the group of texts describing the rituals the NIN.DINGIR performs to this deity. According to the sequence of KUB 11.32+20.17 it seems possible to say that the NIN.DINGIR goes to the temple of ^dTetešḥapi, which is located at the town Tawiniya (col. v 3’, 9’). In the text KBo 21.95 i 20’ff. (Dupl. 21.93), it seems that the temple of ^dTetešḥapi is located near the storehouses of the king in Ḥattuša.¹⁰⁵¹

The NIN.DINGIR also visits the temples of Ḥalmašuit, Ḥalki, Kataḥḥa, ^dLAMMA, ^{KUS}Kurša, Parga, ^dUTU, and Tetešḥapi. ^dUTU is a major god-head of the pantheon, and is one who must be visited. Ḥalki and Kataḥḥa are deities connected with nature and growth. Ḥalki as the deity of grain is a symbol of fertility, and Kataḥḥa, according to IBoT 1.29, is connected with birth, thus fertility. According to Haas, this deity is also counted among the protective gods of the kingship.¹⁰⁵² Ḥalmašuit connects the NIN.DINGIR with kingship, since it represents the divine throne. ^dLAMMA, the tutelary deity, may be related to Zithariya, which is connected to the house of the “Fleece” (KBo 10.27 iii 39’-44’). The deity Parga (=Parka) is an old Anatolian deity known from the town Kaneš at the time of the Assyrian colonies, as well as from Emar from the time of the Hittite control of the town.¹⁰⁵³ It can be said, then, that the temples the NIN.DINGIR visits are of deities related to the strata of the ancient Anatolian deities, which are connected with fertility and protection for the royal family.

The temple of Inara is mentioned as the place where the NIN.DINGIR “meets the king for the first time” (KBo 22.189 ii

¹⁰⁵⁰ Houwink ten Cate (1988) 189 n. 45.

¹⁰⁵¹ The fragment KBo 25.48 also describes the NIN.DINGIR in the temple of Tetešḥapi, but there is no reference to its location.

¹⁰⁵² Haas (1994) 459.

¹⁰⁵³ Haas (1994) 614, 676.

8).¹⁰⁵⁴ In what festival or what context it is not clear. Inara is an important deity identified with other goddesses, and within the NIN.DINGIR rituals she plays an important role in the message delivered by the young man and young woman (see below under the deities in the NIN.DINGIR rituals p. 410).

The *arzana*-house, first among the possibly non-cultic houses the NIN.DINGIR visits, may be understood as an inn. It has been discussed at length by Hoffner.¹⁰⁵⁵ He suggests that, aside from being a place where royalty used to eat and drink during the festivals, it was also a place that served the public as well. He raises the question whether the place was used also for contact with the opposite sex, and if so, what the significance the NIN.DINGIR’s staying the night there had.¹⁰⁵⁶ Hoffner concludes with the observation that although festivals took place in the *arzana*-house “there is no reason to conceive of it exclusively as a religious building”, but rather as an inn for travelers as well as men from the nearby towns, since the *arzana*-house was built outside the walls of the town or within the town wall itself.¹⁰⁵⁷

The building known as É *ḥalentua* may have been a palace or a royal residence.¹⁰⁵⁸ As she moves between the different temples the NIN.DINGIR visits this place, as we see the king doing, for example, in KUB 20.87 obv. i. It appears to be the place where she meets the king (compare KBo 10.27 v 8’ and 23’).

6.2.6 The deities mentioned in the rituals the NIN.DINGIR performs

The list of the deities mentioned in the texts basically shows a large number of gods and goddesses to whom the NIN.DINGIR pays homage during the rituals. She either drinks them, bows to them, or prostrates herself before them. Following are the names of the deities mentioned:

Aa-?, Allatum, Apupiti-gods, Arušil, DAG-ti, Damnašara-gods, Ea, GIR, Ḥalki, Ḥalmašuit, Ḥanzunzi, Ḥapaliya, Ḥapantali(ya), Ḥaratši,

¹⁰⁵⁴ For this passage see Singer (1975) 81.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Hoffner (1974) 113-121.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Hoffner (1974) 120.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Hoffner (1974) 121.

¹⁰⁵⁸ See Puhvel, *HED* 3: 15ff and *HW*² Ḥ: 20-25. The word was related to the Hurrian ḥa-i-kal-li “palace” as well as the Sumerogram É.GAL- “palace”. However, Wilhelm (1997) 14 n. 16 poses a question regarding the location of this building on the sacred area of the *ḥuwasi*, which is in a hilly area.

Ḫataḫḫa, Inara, Ištar, kampiwuit, Kantiputi, Karziš, Kataḫḫa, Kurša-(bag), LAMMA, LAMMA ŠERI, ^dMAḪ, Maliya, Mezzula, Miyatanzipa, ^dNAR, Parga, Purunkatte, Šenpar?/Putpar?, Storm-god, Storm-god of Zippalanda, Storm-god of Nerik, Sun-god, Sun-goddess of Arina, Šišummi, Šiu(ni), Šušumit, Telipinu, Tetešḫapi/Tetešḫawapi, Tundurmiša, U.GUR, ^dUD ^{<MA->AM}, ZABABA, Zaiu, Zithariya - (together with the *kurša*-bag), Zizzi, Zuliya, Zuluma.

This list, which should be considered incomplete, can only indicate for us that the NIN.DINGIR is not a priestess of one god or one goddess only, but rather a priestess serving all the gods. Her rituals include worship of a general selection of the gods of Ḫatti. The only exception in this regard is the writing of NIN.DINGIR in relation to ^dZithariya: ŠA NIN.DINGIR ^dZithariya (KBo 19.128 ii 11) next to ^dZithariya ŠA NIN.DINGIR (KBo 4.13 iv 25, vi 5). In both cases I believe the reference should be understood as “the tutelary deity Zithariya of the NIN.DINGIR” and not the opposite.¹⁰⁵⁹

One can not avoid the fact, however, that while most of the deities are mentioned once, twice, or three times, two deities are mentioned repeatedly: Inara and Tetešḫapi. Both deities are mentioned either by their temple or through the description of their worship. Inara appears as well in the fixed phrase telling of the young man and young woman who deliver the message of/for Inara during the rituals performed by the NIN.DINGIR and the other cult professionals.¹⁰⁶⁰ Inara is already known from old Ḫattic tradition among other deities such as Ḫalki, Telipinu, and Ḫalmašuit. In later periods she is added to the group of tutelary deities, and especially to Ḫapantaliya who also appears in our texts.¹⁰⁶¹

Next to these two deities appear Ḫapantali(ya), ^dLAMMA, Kataḫḫa, and Tundurmiša. These four deities are known as tutelary deities, especially Ḫapantaliya. Ḫapantaliya is paired with ^dLAMMA or with ^dInara, which makes it clear why in later periods

¹⁰⁵⁹ This double way of writing appears also with the queen ŠA MUNUS.LUGAL ^dZithariya and ^dZithariya MUNUS.LUGAL; see van Gessel, *Onomasticon* 1: 595 for the king's Zithariya as well. Houwink ten Cate is of a different opinion, saying that “it would seem that this Zithariya (i.e. of the NIN.DINGIR) is different” from the Zithariya of king and queen. Once we accept the possibility of the royal origin of the NIN.DINGIR, as shown here, the Zithariya may be accepted as the same.

¹⁰⁶⁰ See Pecchioli Daddi (1988) 194 for the first group she gives.

¹⁰⁶¹ For the goddess Inara see Kammenhuber, *RIA* 5 (1976-1980).

Inara is identical with ^dLAMMA.¹⁰⁶² As for Tundurmiša, this deity is mentioned only in the NIN.DINGIR texts together with Wurunkate and ZABABA.¹⁰⁶³ The two figures Wurunkate and ZABABA are also known from the Ḫattian pantheon and the old Hittite texts as the war gods, and in the texts including the NIN.DINGIR they show up together with Tundurmiša.¹⁰⁶⁴

6.2.7 The relationship of the NIN.DINGIR with the goddess Tetešḫapi

The goddess Tetešḫapi is a goddess of the wild animals and hunting.¹⁰⁶⁵ Her Ḫattic name means “the great goddess”. Tetešḫapi may be considered also an aspect of the goddess Inara. Her connection with the wild animals is suggested, according to Haas, in a ritual where antelope, a sheep, and a sacred spring of the goddess are mentioned.¹⁰⁶⁶ Also a leopard and a wolf are mentioned and, according to Pecchioli Daddi, the NIN.DINGIR plays the role of the goddess in this ritual (KBo 21.90 // KUB 32.83+ KBo 21.103+).

Haas, following Pecchioli Daddi, connects the ritual for the goddess Tetešḫapi with the celebration of the *purulli*ya-festival in Ḫattuša.¹⁰⁶⁷ He assumes that the rituals in CTH 649 and 738 should probably be brought together into one large ritual associated with that festival. On the basis of similarities between texts belonging to CTH 649 and texts from 738, it might well be that these two rituals belonged to one larger ritual, where the NIN.DINGIR engaged in a performance of the cult duties next to the royal pair and many cult functionaries. On the other hand, it is not clear enough how it is to be connected to the *purulli*ya-festival or to any other festival in which these same functionaries take part.

6.2.8 The Hittite NIN.DINGIR: A royal priestess

In summing up the information gathered here on the Hittite NIN.DINGIR, several things should be emphasized regarding her office. First of all, she is at the same cultic rank as the king and the queen, since she performs together with them in the same

¹⁰⁶² McMahon (1991) 14-16.

¹⁰⁶³ Van Gessel, *Onomasticon* 1: 529.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Haas (1994) 363-366.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Haas (1994) 438.

¹⁰⁶⁶ This passage KBo 32.83+KBo 21.103= KBo 21.90 rev. 51'-54 is treated by Pecchioli Daddi (1987b) 366-367.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Haas (1994) 729. Popko, *Religions*: 149 rejects this connection.

manner, with the same royal symbols and gestures. As can be learned from KBo 19.163, she is at the same rank as the *tuḫukanti* as well. This indicates that she was likely a member of the royal family, and not an ordinary priestess. She relies on the official cult to supply her rituals, and has her own private personnel. This is reinforced by two facts: (1) She is never mentioned with another NIN.DINGIR; there is only one such person. (2) She performs most of her rituals together with the royal pair, the king and the queen. Otherwise, she is described in some rituals in relation to the king in such situations as when the king goes to one temple while the NIN.DINGIR goes to another (KBo 10.27 iii 8; 22.196 rev. 15'-16'). Similar descriptions of the king's and queen's activity during festivals can also be found in other festivals.¹⁰⁶⁸

The NIN.DINGIR performs on behalf of the king and queen in two ways:

(1) In three texts (KBo 19.161 iv; 21.90 obv. 34' and rev. 39'-44'; and 21.103+ KUB 32.83 rev. 1'-4') she is performing a ritual while the *zintuḫi*-women sing along in Ḫattic a song that speaks of the Tabarna and the Tawananna, the two royal titles for a king and a queen in Ḫatti. The royal couple is probably being blessed through this song, or there is a request for their well-being and prosperous future. The singing in Ḫattic mentions the god Telipinu who is related to growth and fertility.

(2) The NIN.DINGIR performs a similar rite on behalf of the king in KUB 59.2 ii 6'-7': she goes to the temple of the goddess Kataḫḫa, where she spins the spindle representing long years to gain a long life for the king.¹⁰⁶⁹ The Ḫattic songs open with the words "*taššaninna taššaninna*", appearing in the following texts: KBo 19.138 obv. 10'; 19.161 ii 24'-25'; 19.163 iii 53'-54'; 21.95 i 9'; 21.100 12'; 21.102 rev. 11'; 21.106 11'. IBoT 2.43 ii 11'. I assume that these texts are related to each other (some are parallel or duplicating

¹⁰⁶⁸ In the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM-festival outline (col. ii 5-7) the king goes to Arinna while the queen is in Ḫattuša. In KUB 58.33 obv. 22'-24' the queen is in Taštariša while the king is in Nerik. The same descriptions of traveling from town to town is used for the king and the DUMU.LUGAL, "crown prince"; for example, in KUB 20.88 iii², 1'-6' the king is in Taštariša while the prince goes from Taštariša to Kaštama. These descriptions seem important for the identification of the royal family in the cult.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Spinning the spindle is well known in the mythological texts regarding the goddesses of fate. They are known to be present at birth (in the Ullikummi song) and in the magic rituals. See Beckman *StBoT* 29: 238ff, and Popko, *Religions*: 111.

texts). According to Pecchioli Daddi, they all belong to the festival of the deity Tetešḫapi.¹⁰⁷⁰

After describing the cultic performance of the NIN.DINGIR it can be concluded that there are three kinds of ritual performances she conducts:

a. Arriving at a temple and performing together with the royal family during the main festivals of the kingdom, such as the *nuntarriyašḫa*-festival and the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM-festival. She drinks the deities and makes offerings in succession, assisted by the cupbearer and the table-man.

b. Together with a scepter-bearer, the *ḫapiya*-men, and the *zintuḫi*-women, she performs in different temples after arriving at them by carriage, accompanied by the singing of the women. She dances with or next to them and before the deity. Through their dancing the *ḫapiya*-men are also principal actors in these rituals (KUB 11.32+; KBo 10.27).

c. Rituals describing a dramatized story, probably some mythological story connected with the deity Tetešḫapi, where next to the NIN.DINGIR people arrive disguised as in a hunting scene. To these texts belong the scene of the NIN.DINGIR dressed in the deity's clothes, perhaps personifying the deity herself (KBo 21.90; KBo 17.18 with KUB 56.46).

6.2.9 The NIN.DINGIR and the ^{LÚ}*tuḫukanti* in texts of festivals

The word *tuḫukanti* has been identified as a title for a member of the royal family, and more specifically, as a title for the crown prince.¹⁰⁷¹ The ^{LÚ}*tuḫukanti*, written also as ^{LÚ}*taḫukanti*, may have originated in proto-Ḫattian, but appears in the Hittite texts for the first time during the Middle Kingdom, as a title for the crown prince Tudḫaliya (III), the son of Arnuwanda I. Arnuwanda, identified as the son of the previous king of Ḫatti, posed a real difficulty for scholars for a long time, for he is described as the brother of his wife Ašmunikal, the daughter of Tudḫaliya II. Such marriage relationships were forbidden among the Hittites.¹⁰⁷²

In the texts mentioning the NIN.DINGIR, the title ^{LÚ}*tuḫukanti*/

¹⁰⁷⁰ See at the end of this sub-chapter the list of fragments belonging to CTH 738.

¹⁰⁷¹ See Gurney (1983) 97-101, who identified the *tuḫukanti* as a crown prince. For the relevant bibliography on this title see Tischler, *HEG* 10: 409.

¹⁰⁷² For this issue see Beal (1983) 115-126. See also Beckman (1986) 23 and recently Bryce (1998) 139.

^{LÚ}*tuḫukanti* appears in a festival or ritual context. The ^{LÚ}*tuḫukanti* appears in KBo 19.161 and 19.163 (with parallel KBo 21.98), texts describing the festival for the deity Tetešhapi, and also in KUB 59.2, which can be ascribed to the *nuntarriyašša*-festival, days nine to eleven.¹⁰⁷³ This was already suggested by Houwink ten Cate, who pointed out, however, the passage's resemblance to days twelve to fourteen of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM-festival.¹⁰⁷⁴ In the *nuntarriyašša*-festival, on the ninth day, the king sends either a prince (DUMU.LUGAL) or a palace attendant to the temple of the Storm-god. Our text, KUB 59.2 iii 5, does indeed refer to "The [pe]rson whom the king sends [." And in the previous line (line 4), it is stated that in the temple of the [Storm-god] they celebrate the festival for Zithariya on the previous day.¹⁰⁷⁵

The outlines for the two great festivals, the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM-festival and the *nuntarriyašša*-festival, mention a DUMU.LUGAL being sent from the palace to the temple of the Storm-god, but not the ^{LÚ}*tuḫukanti*. It is tempting to identify the ^{LÚ}*tuḫukanti* mentioned in KUB 59.2 as the DUMU.LUGAL sent from the palace. What follows is KUB 59.2 iii 6-12:

- 6 [The next d]ay in the temple of the tutelary deity a 'he-goat' he kills
[for]
7 its festival. The NIN.DINGIR, too, enters the temple of the LAMMA-
deity.
8 She brings a *dummarra*?-m[an]. In the temple of Zi[thariya?]
9 the *tuḫukanti* celebrates it (i.e. the deity).
10 of the right and of the left the LAMMA-deity []
11 they [celebr]ate. Oxen and sheep of the palace []
12 [] ..of their temples. 11th day.¹⁰⁷⁶

The ^{LÚ}*tuḫukanti* celebrates together with the NIN.DINGIR. This celebration may well be the one described in the other rituals such as KBo 19.163; 19.161 mentioned above.¹⁰⁷⁷ These texts show a

¹⁰⁷³ Nakamura (2002) 37, 39.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Houwink ten Cate (1988) 189 n. 45. See also Haas (1994) 839-840.

¹⁰⁷⁵ This also resembles the 17th day of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM-festival outline. According to Güterbock (1960) 81, 86: col. ii 41-42: *I-NA É dU-ma DUMU.LUGAL IŠ-TU É.GAL^{LIM} u-i-ja-an-zi* ("But into the temple of the Storm-god they send a prince from the palace").

¹⁰⁷⁶ See Nakamura (2002) 34-47.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Unfortunately there is no mention of the temple in which these celebrations take place.

Middle Hittite script,¹⁰⁷⁸ and therefore belong to the early period of the appearance of the title ^{LÚ}*tuḫukanti*.

In these rituals the NIN.DINGIR is described as equal to the ^{LÚ}*tuḫukanti* in the way they each participate in the festival. No other members of the royal family, except for the king and queen, are described in their ritual duties in the way these two are described here. In the same way that the king and queen are described as a harmonious pair fulfilling their religious duties, so also are the NIN.DINGIR and the ^{LÚ}*tuḫukanti* described. I therefore must follow my first impression that the NIN.DINGIR is a royal priestess, as mentioned above.

The next question to be raised is whether what is described here was brought about by a special situation. Why is the NIN.DINGIR specifically mentioned next to the ^{LÚ}*tuḫukanti* in the same way as she is presented next to the royal couple?

The possible historical context that these texts present may be the period of Arnuwanda and Ašmunikal, the famous royal couple of the Middle Kingdom. Tudḫaliya II made his crown prince Arnuwanda I a co-regent. Arnuwanda, according to his own annals, is described as a Great King next to Tudḫaliya the Great King. Beal proposed an explanation for this special situation, which also explains the difficulty of Arnuwanda and Ašmunikal being a brother and a sister: Arnuwanda could be an adopted son of Tudḫaliya II.¹⁰⁷⁹

A land grant of Arnuwanda ends as follows (KBo 5.7 rev. 50): "The words of the Tabarna Arnuwanda, the Great King, Ašmunikal the Great queen and Tudḫaliya the crown prince, the ^{LÚ}*tuḫukanti*." The fact that the crown prince, who is the ^{LÚ}*tuḫukanti*, appears here, demonstrates his importance to the future of the royal family and his involvement in the kingdom's affairs. His religious status emphasizes the status of the NIN.DINGIR. As we show in KUB 59.2 above, the NIN.DINGIR and the ^{LÚ}*tuḫukanti*, the royal prince and princess, may appear in a ceremony as a pair, as counterparts to the king and queen. We also found that the crown prince, a DUMU.LUGAL (not called ^{LÚ}*tuḫukanti*), is appointed to the priesthood.¹⁰⁸⁰ The king and queen are the highest priests, and secondary to them are the crown prince, and probably the NIN.DINGIR. It is also possible that the NIN.DINGIR may be

¹⁰⁷⁸ See for example the signs AZ; TAR; DU; ḪA; TU.

¹⁰⁷⁹ See Beal (1983) 115-126.

¹⁰⁸⁰ See above 6.1.3 p. 373.

the wife of the DUMU.LUGAL, but that can only be in the case of Arnuwanda, the adopted son, and Ašmunikal the biological daughter of Tudḫaliya II. It could be that these texts indeed were elaborated for this couple, at the time that Arnuwanda was only the crown prince and not yet a co-regent. It could also be that the position of the NIN.DINGIR was upgraded for the sake of Ašmunikal, who was the one to continue the royal line, if indeed Arnuwanda was an adopted son.

We must still keep in mind that the NIN.DINGIR as a royal priestess appears already in Old Hittite texts, so that she was not always to be regarded as the wife of the crown prince.

6.2.10 The latest attestation of the office of the Hittite NIN.DINGIR

A final note must be made regarding the latest attestation of the NIN.DINGIR office in the Hittite Kingdom. We have already indicated that the texts dealing with the NIN.DINGIR in cultic descriptions are mostly of Old Hittite language, and therefore, especially in light of the conspicuous usage of Ḫattian religious traditions manifested in them, this office likely goes back to the Old Hittite kingdom. Many other texts have been recognized as duplicates or parallel texts of the older versions, written in later periods of the kingdom. For the most part they maintain the same tradition, copied over and over through the ages. Can we still say that the NIN.DINGIR office really existed through the other periods of the Hittite Kingdom as far as the New Kingdom? The answer is a bit complicated and indirect since there is no text which mentions any historical person as a NIN.DINGIR.

KBo 19.128 is a festival ritual text which was edited by Otten,¹⁰⁸¹ and determined by him as old based on the contents of its pantheon as well as its language forms.¹⁰⁸² The colophon relates only to its later copying: "The second tablet finished. Regarding the Great House of the spring. With it finished the second day. Copied following the wooden text. The tablet of Ḫattuša. It was written (by) the hand of Arma-ziti, the scribe; in front of Anuwanza, the palace official (^LSAG)" (col. vi 32'-36').

This official, Anuwanza, is a known figure from the time of king Tudḫaliya IV of the New Kingdom. This gives a clear date to

¹⁰⁸¹ Otten, *StBoT* 13: 51. He could not fix the time of this festival and whether it indeed belongs to the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM-festival, as suggested by Laroche.

¹⁰⁸² Otten, *StBoT* 13: 52.

the time of the copying of the text in our hands.¹⁰⁸³ In this text the deity Zithariya of the NIN.DINGIR appears: ŠA NIN.DINGIR dZithariya (col. ii 11). Houwink ten Cate has already noted that this title of a protective deity used for the royal couple (mentioned above in 6.2.3.1 pp. 390-391) was apparently adopted in the Hittite pantheon during the early Empire period.¹⁰⁸⁴ A Zithariya of a king and a Zithariya of a queen appear in the festival of Ištar of Šamuḫa KUB 27.1 i 64.¹⁰⁸⁵ Ištar of Šamuḫa entered the cult of the royal family in Ḫattuša as an important deity during the New Kingdom and was particularly important for Ḫattušili III.

If indeed KBo 19.128 shows sacrificing on behalf of the NIN.DINGIR's deity at the time of Tudḫaliya IV, assuming that the ritual was copied not just as a stage in the reforms of the cult taken by Tudḫaliya but rather for real usage, then a NIN.DINGIR existed in the later period of the Hittite Kingdom.¹⁰⁸⁶

¹⁰⁸³ Otten, *StBoT* 13: IX-X. With the parallel text KBo 4.13+KUB 10.82.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Houwink ten Cate (1988) 188 n. 44.

¹⁰⁸⁵ See McMahon (1991) 23, who accepts these titles as the tutelary deity of king and queen.

¹⁰⁸⁶ The idea that the copying of the texts may have been part of cult reforms may be strengthened by the fact that the colophon of KBo 22.189 vi 2'-3' mentions the name of Anuwanza in front of whom the text was copied. 2' P[A-NI "A-nu-ṽa-an-za 3'] IŠ-TUR. That may be the same Anuwanza of Tudḫaliya IV mentioned in KBo 19.128.

6.2.11 List of texts recording the NIN.DINGIR

Following is a list of texts which mention the NIN.DINGIR used in writing this chapter.

(P) indicates the texts Pecchioli Daddi related to CTH 649.¹⁰⁸⁷

KBo	CTH
3.25+KUB10.48-see IBoT 4.81	626
4.13+KUB 10.82 ¹⁰⁸⁸	626
10.27 ¹⁰⁸⁹ (P)	649
11.44	670
11.47 (P)	670
11.48	738
17.18 ¹⁰⁹⁰ (P)	649
17.42+Bo 2599 (P)	649
17.43 (P)	649
17.44+7.35+17.99 ¹⁰⁹¹ (P)	745
17.101 (P)	650
19.127 (P)	649
19.128 ¹⁰⁹²	625
19.138 ¹⁰⁹³	738
19.161 ¹⁰⁹⁴	738
19.163 ¹⁰⁹⁵	738
20.4 ¹⁰⁹⁶	627 ²

¹⁰⁸⁷ F. Pecchioli Daddi (1987a) 37-57; idem (1988) 193 no. 2. For texts belonging to CTH 738 regarding ^dTetešhapi see Haas (1994) 729 n. 130.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Otten, *StBoT* 13: p. X.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Houwink ten Cate (1988) 167-194; Singer, *StBoT* 27: 28-9: under texts of doubtful ascription he thinks this text may have been part of the KILAM-festival series; Pecchioli Daddi (1988) 204, marks it under CTH 649 II (because of the usage of the carriage). Thus also de Martino (1989) 32-33.

¹⁰⁹⁰ See Neu, *StBoT* 25: 99-100 for dupls. KBo 17.43; KBo 17.44+7.35+17.99; KBo 17.42+Bo2599 which dupl. KBo 25.31; Bo 4869.

¹⁰⁹¹ KBo 17.44+7.35+17.99 // 25.37; 25.38; 25.32.

¹⁰⁹² Otten, *StBoT* 13.

¹⁰⁹³ See Košak, *StBoT* 39: 26, for KBo 25.155+KBo 24.98+KBo 21.103+32.83 which KBo 19.138 is a dupl. and also KUB 53.28.

¹⁰⁹⁴ A. KBo 19.161 B. KBo 25.155+KUB 32.83+ KBo 21.103+KBo 24.98 C. KBo 21.90.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Dupl. KBo 34.169.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Singer, *StBoT* 28: 24.

20.5 ¹⁰⁹⁷		627
20.9 ¹⁰⁹⁸ (P)		649
20.14+25.33 ¹⁰⁹⁹ (P)		649
20.26+25.34 ¹¹⁰⁰ (P)		649/627
20.27 ¹¹⁰¹ (P)		649/627
20.32 (P)		627?
20.33+ ¹¹⁰²		
20.46		738
20.79		738
20.85+22.175 (P)		670
20.96+25.157+20.84(+) KUB 32.80 ¹¹⁰³		738
20.101		
21.84		670
21.90 ¹¹⁰⁴		738
21.91 ¹¹⁰⁵		738
21.93		738
21.95+KBo 37.53 ¹¹⁰⁶		738
21.97		649
21.98 ¹¹⁰⁷		738
21.100+30.103		738
21.101		743
21.102		738
21.104		738
21.105		738
21.106		738
22.175+20.85 (P)		649

¹⁰⁹⁷ Singer, *StBoT* 28: 32, (KBo 20.5+ABoT 5+KBo 17.9+17.20+25.12) KILAM-festival. Neu (*StBoT* 25: 29-36) sees these texts as an old Hittite version. He adds to it texts KBo 22.195, Bo 69/833, 487/w, and also KBo 21.68.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Neu, *StBoT* 25: 85-87.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Neu, *StBoT* 25: 87-88. Dupl. KUB 58.54.

¹¹⁰⁰ KBo 20.26+25.34// 25.64 // 25.154 compare KBo 25.32. Neu, *StBoT* 25: 89-90, and *StBoT* 26: 364; See also Košak, *StBoT* 43 (1992) 10 with joins sketch 136-7 for the following joins: KBo 38.12+ 25.20+ 25.145+ 25.72+ 25.35+25.72+20.26+25.34+20.27+KUB 39.64 which he ascribes to CTH 627.

¹¹⁰¹ See Košak, *StBoT* 39: 8. Also Neu, *StBoT* 25: 110-111.

¹¹⁰² Haas (1981) 187.

¹¹⁰³ Košak, *StBoT* 42: 11 (152/c).

¹¹⁰⁴ See KBo 19.161.

¹¹⁰⁵ Dupl. KBo 21.95. KBo 21.93 parallel text.

¹¹⁰⁶ Groddek (1999) 304.

¹¹⁰⁷ Parallel to KBo 19.163 ii-iii.

22.189 ¹¹⁰⁸	682
22.191 (P)	649
22.195 ¹¹⁰⁹	
22.196 ¹¹¹⁰	649
23.74 ¹¹¹¹	627
24.98 ¹¹¹² (P)	649
25.31 ¹¹¹³ (P)	649
25.32 (P)	649/738
25.33+20.14 ¹¹¹⁴	649
25.35 ¹¹¹⁵ (P)	649
25.36 (P)	649
25.37 (P)	649
25.38 ¹¹¹⁶ (P)	738
25.39 (P)	649
25.40	670
25.41+30.114 (P)	649
25.42 (P)	649
25.43 (P)	649
25.46 (P)	738
25.47 (P)	649
25.48	738
25.49 (P)	649
25.50 (P)	649
25.64 ¹¹¹⁷ (P)	649/738
25.145 (P)	649/627 ¹¹¹⁸

¹¹⁰⁸ Singer (1975) 69-103, and see also for KBo 22.189 obv. ii on p. 80. For a treatment of CTH 682 (Festival for all the tutelary deities), see McMahon (1991) 85, who identifies 22.189 as text E, and the following pages 94-97 for a treatment of the text.

¹¹⁰⁹ Laroche (1975) 68.

¹¹¹⁰ This fragment may belong to KBo 20.26+ 25.34 (Neu, *StBoT* 25: 89) as Pecchioli Daddi (1987b) 362 no. 10. Or, it can be related to KBo 10.27 per Houwink ten Cate (1988) 167-194.

¹¹¹¹ See Singer, *StBoT* 28: 70-71.

¹¹¹² See KBo 25.155.

¹¹¹³ Neu, *StBoT* 25:85 relates 25.31 to KBo 20.9; 25.35 // 20.85+22.175// 25.41, 25.42, 25.47 // KUB 43.48 (see under KUB below); KBo 25.50//20.32//KBo 17.43 // KBo 25.32+17.42+Bo 2599; 20.14+25.33 //Bo 2923.

¹¹¹⁴ Dupl. KUB 58.54.

¹¹¹⁵ KBo 25.35 // 25.31; 20.85+22.175.

¹¹¹⁶ Neu, *StBoT* 25: 97.

¹¹¹⁷ Parallel text KBo 25.34+20.26.

¹¹¹⁸ See also Košak, *StBoT* 43: 10 with joins sketch 136-137.

25.154 ¹¹¹⁹ (P)	649/738
25.155+24.98+21.103+KUB32.83 ¹¹²⁰	738
25.167	649
25.177	670
30.16	
30.26 (P)	649
30.43	
30.136 (P)	649
30.142 (P)	649
30.153	647
30.155 (P)	
30.161	649
30.172	738
30.181 ¹¹²¹ (P)	649
30.185 (P)	649
37.6	738
37.51+IBoT 3.68	738
37.53	738
37.54	738
37.57	738
37.58	738

KUB

CTH

10.52 - see 56.46 vi 1ff	670
20.90	649
25.51(+)+11.32+20.17	738
32.83+KBo 21.103 ¹¹²²	738
34.114	738
34.93 (P)	649
34.94 (P)	669
44.16+IBoT 3.69 ¹¹²³	682
48.17 ¹¹²⁴	738
51.52	649
53.28 ¹¹²⁵ (P)	738
54.75 (P)	649

¹¹¹⁹ Compare KBo 25.33, 20.26.

¹¹²⁰ See KBo 19.138.

¹¹²¹ Compare KBo 25.41.

¹¹²² See KBo 25.155+.

¹¹²³ McMahon (1991) 88-89.

¹¹²⁴ Dupl. to KUB 25.51.

¹¹²⁵ KUB 53.28 dupl. to KBo 19.139 and KBo 24.98; see Beckman (1985) 144.

55.16 ¹¹²⁶	649
56.46+43.48 ¹¹²⁷ +KBo 17.42+KBo 20.9 (P) ¹¹²⁸	649
55.33 (P)	649
58.54; 58.61 ¹¹²⁹	649
59.2 ¹¹³⁰	626
59.16 ¹¹³¹	649

IBoT	
2.43	738
3.68+KBo 37.51 ¹¹³²	738
4.81+ KBo 3.25+KUB 10.48+KBo 39.63	626

VBoT	
31	738 [?]
32 ¹¹³³	738

Bo	
Bo 7521 (P)	
Bo 2923	
Bo 4869 (P)	(<i>StBoT</i> 25:103)
Bo 2599	(<i>StBoT</i> 25:84)
Bo 6594	(<i>StBoT</i> 25:98)
Bo 6548	(<i>StBoT</i> 25: 100)

280/t	
375/t	
623/b ¹¹³⁴	
770/c	738
1103/c	738

¹¹²⁶ Ünal (1987) 479-480. Popko (1988) 90.

¹¹²⁷ Pecchioli Daddi (1987a) 38-39.

¹¹²⁸ Košak (1988) 148. Another dupl. is KUB 59.16 noticed by Popko (1991) 125, as well as KBo 25.31.

¹¹²⁹ Haas (1990) 418.

¹¹³⁰ Alp (1983) no. 83: 238-9. See Popko (1991) 124-125.

¹¹³¹ Popko (1991) 125. See also KUB 57.76 and 57.77 as possibly related texts.

¹¹³² It may be connected to KUB 25.51.

¹¹³³ Beckman and Hoffner (1985) 16.

¹¹³⁴ Košak, *StBoT* 39: 57 and Taracha (1998) 208.