

6.3 ROYALTY AND THE DIVINE VESTMENTS

We made reference above to the special ceremonial dress, sometimes identified as the deity's clothes, used by three members of the royal family: the king, the crown prince, and the NIN.DINGIR. In this sub-chapter the occurrences of the divine clothes and their possible function will be examined.

6.3.1 King and prince in divine vestments

King and prince are both mentioned as being dressed in the deity's clothes during the performance of rituals. The word *aniyatta* is usually used to refer to these ceremonial clothes. This word is derived from *aniya-* ("work, perform") which, in cultic contexts, refers to the worship of the divine.¹¹³⁵

We have several descriptions of the king's preparations for worship which include wearing the *aniyatta* before attending a ceremony at the temple. He first goes into the washing room,¹¹³⁶ then he puts on the ceremonial vestments (*aniyatta*), golden earrings, and shoes; next he is given the insignia of kingship: an iron spear and a lituus.¹¹³⁷ In none of these descriptions are the clothes identified as the deity's. Only in one text involving the cult of the town of Nerik is the king said to be wearing the "deity's clothes" (DINGIR^{LIM}-*aš aniyatta*, "*šiunaš aniyatta*").¹¹³⁸ This text, KUB 58.33, starts with a description of the queen's ceremonial activity as she departs from the town of Nerik for another town Taštariša, and on the way she stops in different locations where she prostrates and libates to the deities. Next, the king is described as follows:¹¹³⁹

24' ma-a-an lu-uk-kat-ta ^{URU}Ne-ri-ik-ki

25' ḫa-aš-ša-an-zi LUGAL-uš-za

¹¹³⁵ Puhvel, *HED* 1-2: 66-70 esp. 69. *HW*² A: 88^b-89.

¹¹³⁶ KUB 25.16 i 4-5; KUB 20.79 5'-7'; KUB 46.11, 4-6. The inner chamber KBo 10.23+ 6'-8' (Singer, *StBoT* 28: 9).

¹¹³⁷ See KUB 25.16 i 1-10.

¹¹³⁸ The word for "god" in Hittite is either *šiu-* or *šiuna* (a late Hittite form). The genitival form of the singular is: *šiunaš* ("of the deity") represented in the Sumero-Akkadogram as DINGIR^{LIM}-*aš*. See Neu *StBoT* 18: 120, 122.

¹¹³⁹ KUB 58.33 was transliterated and translated by Haas (1970) 260-264. My English translation includes a few minor changes, based on the publication of the text (Bo 2839) as KUB 58.33.

26' TÚG DINGIR^{LIM} TÚG.GÚ.È.A a-du-up-li-ta
 27' [u]a-aš-ši-ja-zi iš-ḥu-uz-zi-na-za-kán
 28' [iš]-ḥu-uz-zi-ja-iz-zi
 29' [TÚG ka]t-ti-lu-ri ŠA DINGIR^{LIM}
 30' [GÍŠ kal-]m'u-uš KÚŠ.E.SIR^{ḪLA}
 31' [šar-k]u-e-ja-zi

32' [LUGAL-u]š AN.BAR-aš tu-u-ri-in ḥar-zi
 33' []-ta URU-ja-za GAM ú-iz-zi
 34' [DUMU^{MES}É.GAL LÚ^{MES}ME-ŠE-DI
 35' []-u LÚ^{MES}ALAM.ZU₉
 36' [pí-ra-]an ḥu-u-i-ja-an-te-eš

37' [] pa-iz-zi A-NA GÍŠ.GAL
 38' [] a-ru-ua-iz-zi

During the next morning in Nerik they open;¹¹⁴⁰ the king, the deity's garment: the shirt and the *adupli*-garment¹¹⁴¹ he wears, and the belt he ties on. [The *ka*]tiluri-garment of the deity, [the li]tuus (and) the shoes he [puts on]. The king holds an iron spear, [] then he comes down from the city. The palace [attendants], the bodyguards, [the] and the *alanzu*-men, are running in front. [] (He) goes to the big wood [] (and) prostrates.

This description of the king putting on the ceremonial clothes, including the kingly insignia, before going to a ritual clearly indicates the special role of the clothes in acts of worshiping the gods. We might understand the words "the deity's clothes" as "clothes for performance in the presence of the deity", but the meaning could also be "clothes belonging to the deity itself" or "clothes that the deity wears". Another meaning might be "the clothes made in the fashion of the deity's clothes", but for this I would have expected the Hittite texts to be more specific, as they are in regard to items in "royal fashion".¹¹⁴²

¹¹⁴⁰ According to the other texts such as KUB 25.16 we can add here "the *ḥalentua*-house".

¹¹⁴¹ The exact translation of this word is unknown. It is a festive garb or cloak, possibly identical with TÚG.NIG.LAM ("long gown"). However, as Starke suggests in *StBoT* 31: 207-208 this is a loan word from Akkadian *atuplu/utuplu*, meaning a special gown. The *adupli* is worn by the king in the temple, as in KUB 2.6 iv 3-5: "The king in the temple of the Sun-god puts on the *adupli*." See also Puhvel, *HED* 1: 229.

¹¹⁴² See KUB 42.38 i 21: "three pairs of golden earrings, pierced at the back,

Goetze, in a detailed article on the ritual dress of the king,¹¹⁴³ shows that the king always puts on a ceremonial robe in order to approach the deities. This robe is worn over the king's other clothing. Goetze tried to identify the garments mentioned in the texts on the basis of iconographical representations of kings and queens. First he identifies the *kušiši*- as the long gown that both king and queen wear in identical fashion, and the *kureššar*- as the veil or cap attached to the headdress. Then he identifies the ḪUB.BI with the earrings and the KÚŠ.E.SIR with the uniquely shaped Hittite shoes. Comparison of the textual evidence with the monumental representation of the king on rock reliefs and seals is difficult, since there are several articles of clothing which indicate the ceremonial or festive attire of the king. What the difference is between the *kušiši* and the *adupli* or the TÚG.NIG.LAM is hard to say.¹¹⁴⁴ Some scholars argue, for example, that the Sumerogram TÚG.NIG.LAM is the Hittite word *adupli*. In any case, the iconography of the king and queen shows that during their performance in front of the gods, they are indeed dressed in these identifiable pieces: long gown, special headware, and special shoes. Goetze also recognizes the king's insignia as the lituus and the iron spear. All of this can, however, be recognized as attire worn by the deities themselves. Does this mean that the king is being represented in divine form? Is the king to be considered divine while wearing these ceremonial vestments?

Güterbock approached this issue in an article titled "Sun-god or King?",¹¹⁴⁵ where he emphasized the distinctions between the king and the god in iconographic representations. The long robe, rounded skull cap and lituus are common elements, but the god is always identified by the winged sun-disk while the king is never shown with this sun-disk. Thus, the dress of the king looks similar to that of the deity, and therefore the definition "deity's vestments" seems fitting as a description of these clothes. It can be assumed that the king is in a different state or status of sacredness while performing in the "deity's ceremonial clothing". One should add

two[], thereof one set made in the fashion of Ḫattuša, one set [], and one set made in the fashion of kingship". Kořak (1982) 148.

¹¹⁴³ Goetze (1947) 176-185.

¹¹⁴⁴ Puhvel, *HED* 4: 295; according to him *kušiši*- is regarded a loan-word from the Akkadian *kušitu*. The *kušitu* was identified as an elaborate "outer garment", part of the vestments of the goddesses, see Zawadzki (2006) 117.

¹¹⁴⁵ Güterbock (1993) 225-226.

to this situation the fact that the king in his function as priest drinks the gods, an act for which he must become ritually pure since, in doing so, he touches the realm of the divine. Once he finishes the performance to the gods, he takes off the ceremonial vestments. They are in that sense sacred divine clothes. They do not make the king a deity but, temporarily, they include him in the sphere of the divine.

We find two more figures in the Hittite texts who wear “the deity’s clothes” in this same role: they are the “prince” (DUMU.LUGAL), and the NIN.DINGIR priestess. As to the former, we have only the text KUB 56.35 (and its parallel text KBo 21.79) specifically mentioning the prince’s clothes as divine:

Obv. i

1 []-hi⁷ ma-a-an lu-uk-kat-ta nu-za DUMU.LUGALTÚG.DINGIR^{LIM}
 2 [ša-ra-a] ūa-aš-ši-e-iz-zi¹¹⁴⁶ KUS E.SIR^{HLA} BABBAR^{TIM} šar-ku-zi
 3 [LUGUD]U₁₂ A-NA DUMU.LUGAL pí-ra-an ħu-u-ŭa-i^{GIS}GIDRU
 dZa-li-nu-ú-ja []
 4 EGIR^{LUGUD}U₁₂-ma LÚ dÍŠKUR i-ja-at-ta-r[i]
 5 []-ma? Ú-UL ku-it-ki EGIR LÚ dÍŠKUR DUMU.LUGAL

1 ... when it becomes dawn, the prince the deity’s garment
 2 wears, (and) he puts on the white shoes.
 3 The GUDU-priest runs in front of the prince (together with) the staff
 of the deity Zalinu.
 4 Behind the GUDU-priest, however, the Man of the Storm-god walks [
 5 ... nothing. Behind the Man of the Storm-god, the prin[ce

The colophon of this text may indicate that this is one of the regular festivals during which the prince visits the town of Kaštama. In this case, however, he is dressed in divine vestments.

In KBo 21.79 column iv, which I regard as a parallel text to KUB 56.35, the prince appears in Kaštama where he walks in a procession with cult functionaries. It is the 11th day (of the festival) and the prince seems to come out of the *arzana* house.

5' []x-ma-za I-NA UD 11^{KAM}
 6' []ŠA DINGIR^{LIM} ūa-aš-ša-pa-an ūa-ši-i[a-zi]
 []... on the 11th day
 []a garment of the deity [he] dre[sses]
 []... from the *arzana*-house

¹¹⁴⁶ KBo 21.79 iv 6' reads:]ŠA DINGIR^{LIM} ūa-aš-ša-pa-an ūa-ši-i[a-zi].

The description may suggest that the prince leaves the *arzana*-house dressed in the deity’s garment. He walks behind the priests while, behind him, the female singers sing in Ḫattic.

In another text the prince visits the town of Kaštama. When he arrives there, the cult functionaries welcome him at the entrance to the town in the following ceremony (KUB 20.80 iii):

12' DUMU.LUGAL-kán URU-ri ša-ra-a pa-iz-zi
 13' ta-za TUG⁷ši-pa-ĥi-in ūa-aš-ši-ja-az-zi
 14' LÚ SANGA dLAMMA-za KUS⁷gur-ša-an ŠA dLAMMA
 URU⁷kaš-ta-am-ma
 15' kar-ap-zi LÚkán-ti-ik-ki-pí-is-ma-za
 16' [GI]S⁷GIDRU^{HLA} šu-ru-uh-ĥa-aš ŠA dZA.BA₄.BA₄ da-a-i
 17' [L]U⁷GUDU₁₂-ma-za GIS⁷GIDRU^{HLA} dZa-li-ja-nu da-a-i
 18' [L]U⁷MU DINGIR-LIM-ma-za 2 ta-pí-ša-nu-uš
 KÚ.BABBAR.[GE]ŠTIN
 19' [da-a]-i ta-a[t?] A-NA DUMU.LUGAL pí-ra-an
 ħu-u-[ŭa-a]n-zi
 Broken

12' The prince goes up to the town
 13' (while) he is wearing the *šipahi*-coat.¹¹⁴⁷

14' The SANGA-priest of the deity LAMMA the *kurša*-bag of
 LAMMA-deity of the town of Kaštama
 15' lifts up. The *kantikkipi*-man, too,
 16' the staffs of *šuruĥa*-wood of the deity ZABABA takes.
 17' The GUDU-priest, however, the staffs of the deity Zaliyanu takes.
 18' The cook of the god, however, takes two *tapiššana*-silver vessels of
 wine
 19' And they? run in front of the prince[
 Broken

This text describes the prince in shepherd’s clothes, which may refer to the idea that the prince is like a shepherd to his people. The gods in Hittite prayers are called shepherds, as for example in the prayer of Muwatalli to the Storm-god of Lightning: dUTU ŠA-ME-E EN-IA ŠA DUMU.U₁₉.LU-UT-TI ū-e-eš-ta-ra-aš¹¹⁴⁸ (“Sun-god of Heaven, my lord, shepherd of mankind”). This can refer to the

¹¹⁴⁷ For this passage see Haas (1994) 205 n. 160. Also for the Hurrian origin of the word *šipahi* deriving from the Sumerian SIPAN- (“shepherd”), see Haas, *ibid.*, p. 197 n. 95.

¹¹⁴⁸ KUB 6.46 iii 52: Singer (1996) 20, 39.

prince as being in a special divine sphere while in Kaštama. Since both texts describe processions, we may assume that the prince is on his way to the temple for a ritual of worship.

In our discussion of the *kurutayanza*-priests (4.1.2.5 above p. 153), we referred to van den Hout's suggestion that the appearance of the Hittite king in this headware signifies that he is closer to the divine realm but that, except in the case of Tudḫaliya IV, kings were not really regarded as divine.¹¹⁴⁹ Hittite kings were considered divine only after their death, and as long as they lived they remained under the protection and power of the gods.

Thus far we have given citations of the texts in which king and crown prince are dressed in the deity's clothes. Occasions for wearing them are either in Nerik in the case of the king or in Kaštama for the crown prince, and in both cases always during the performance of a ritual. The description of the use of the deity's clothes by the Hittite NIN.DINGIR is quite similar, but includes other details which will be specified below.

6.3.2 The use of the deity's vestments by the Hittite NIN.DINGIR

The reference to the NIN.DINGIR's ceremonial clothes does not specify the different items of her attire, contrary to the cases of the king and crown prince. The phrase referring to her clothes is *šiu-naš aniyatta*, "ceremonial vestments of the deity". It appears in two texts which are parallel but not duplicates, KBo 21.90 and KBo 21.103+KUB 32.83, (+KBo 24.98+, KBo 25.155), as well as in a fragment KBo 20.96, which does not mention the NIN.DINGIR but must belong to the texts associated with her because of the personnel it mentions. Here too are references to the NIN.DINGIR's clothing, but without noting that they are the "deity's clothes".

A) KBo 10.27 is a tablet consisting of probably six columns, of which columns 3, 4, and 5 are preserved. The text describes a festival during which the NIN.DINGIR plays an important role. She is described as moving about between a town's various temples while the king visits other temples. The main temple mentioned here is the "House of the *kurša*-bag". The *kurša*-bag is a hunter's pouch that in cultic contexts actually represents the deity responsible for the hunt.¹¹⁵⁰ According to our text the deity is Zithariya. At the temple of the *kurša*-bag the NIN.DINGIR dances into the inner

¹¹⁴⁹ Van den Hout (1995a) 572 and 567 with n. 115.

¹¹⁵⁰ McMahon (1991) 19-23.

chamber, where she then takes off the ceremonial robe and comes out wearing a colorful cloth. Next she eats at the house of the *ḫapiya*-men, and it can be assumed that she changes clothes to eat. While moving between the house of the *kurša*-bag, the house of the *ḫapiya*-men, the temple of the deity Ḫalki, the palace, the *ḫalentuwa*-building, the temple of the Storm-god, and back to the house of the *kurša*-bag, a group of people accompany her. These include the *ḫapiya*-men who run ahead and dance along with her, the (male) singers of the town Anunuwa, female singers called the *zintuḫi*-women, and the musicians with their instruments. They walk with her in a procession singing and playing the music. The NIN.DINGIR changes clothing again at the end of column five, when she returns to the house of the *kurša*-bag.

In KUB 11.32+KUB 20.17, parts of columns ii, iii, iv and v were preserved. The NIN.DINGIR again is the central figure in the ritual performance. The *zintuḫi*-women act as an accompanying choir while the NIN.DINGIR travels by carriage to the town Dawiniya. If I understand the broken line (5) of column iii correctly, the statue of the deity Tetešḫapi, which is lifted by the SANGA-priest, travels with the NIN.DINGIR. Column v, however, mentions again the god which the SANGA-priest lifts and brings out of the tent where a sacred ritual took place. The NIN.DINGIR comes out of this tent and rides the carriage to the nearest forest. Another tent is then set up in the woods, into which the NIN.DINGIR and a young *šiwanzanna*-priestess, together with the SANGA-priest and the deity (statue) enter for a sacrificial ritual. In the fifth column, the NIN.DINGIR arrives at the temple of the deity Tetešḫapi where the SANGA-priest has already arrived with the deity (statue), which he sets behind the altar. The NIN.DINGIR enters the temple and bows to the deity, after which there is a call for food. She offers beverage to the gods, and when the cup of Tetešḫapi arrives she goes into the inner chamber, takes off the vestments, and clothes herself in something else.¹¹⁵¹ This suggests that she was wearing the *aniyatta*-vestments all along while performing her duty to the deities. In this text these clothes are not described as the deity's vestments, however.

B) The text KBo 21.90 is the one which clearly states the fact

¹¹⁵¹ It is stated again that the NIN.DINGIR changes from the ceremonial clothes to some other kind of clothing, but we do not know what her next performance is since the text is broken.

that the NIN.DINGIR wears the deity's vestments. Of this text we only have a fragment, and the size of the entire text is not clear. The preserved parts of the obverse indicate preparations for a ritual with an assembly(?) and the participation of the SANGA-priest of the deity Tetešhapi. What follows is a description of the ritual, in which the NIN.DINGIR is the main participant.

She first goes into the inner chamber. After the temple workers clean up, she comes back and sits down. They wash her hands. The NIN.DINGIR presents the god several things and then breaks sweet bread, which is placed on the altar by the scepter-bearer. Then the NIN.DINGIR rises and "she goes to the inner chamber, and she puts on (herself) the deity's vestments". Lines 13'-17' have the following description of the NIN.DINGIR:¹¹⁵²

Then she [comes out.] The palace attendants take her (by the arm); and on her place she turns. [] the scepter-bearer runs in front of her; and she [goes?] to the courtyard. [The SANGA-priest of the deity Tet]ešhapi (and) the *zintuḫi*-women are lined up behind her [and sing in Ḫattic as follows:] *iyapitipiš iyatipiš tuštalī tuela eunit* [] They take away from behind the *taršanzipa*.

After wearing the deity's vestments the NIN.DINGIR is held by the palace attendants while the SANGA-priest of Tetešhapi and the *zintuḫi*-singers follow behind her. The *zintuḫi*-women sing all along. The NIN.DINGIR goes to the courtyard and they bring the *taršanzipa* (a kind of furniture belonging to the temple, which probably had a sacred meaning¹¹⁵³). In the next scene some symbolic act takes place. The participants dance while the singers sing in Ḫattic, and they bring to the NIN.DINGIR a "poor man" whose role is not clear. The palace attendants hold the NIN.DINGIR, and then she goes again to the courtyard. In the following (lines 22'-26'):¹¹⁵⁴

¹¹⁵² 13' n[a]-aš-kán ka[t?]] ta-an DUMU^{MES} É.GAL ap-pa-an-zi
na-aš-ša-an p[i]-e-ti-iš-ši ú-eḫ-zi
14' x/ti?-an-ši/ya-x[]-zi nu-uš-še LÚ^{GIS}GIDRU pí-ra-an ḫu-an-zi
na-aš-kán ḫi-i-la
15' [LÚ^{MES}] ḫa-pí-eš MUNUS^{MES} zi-in-tu-ḫi-e-eš EGIRI-ŠU
iš-ga-ra-an-te-eš
16' [] x i-ja-ip-ti-i-pí-iš i-ja-ti-i-pí-iš tu-uš-ta-li
tu-u-ḫe-l-la ḫe-l-un-ne
17' [] x nu-uk-kán tar-aš-ša-an-zi-pa-an a-ap-pa-an
ar-ḫa da-aš-kán-z[i]

¹¹⁵³ Tischler, *HEG* III/9: 222-223.

¹¹⁵⁴ 22' [NIN.DIN]GIR? A-NA DINGIR^{LIM} me-e-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-da

[the NIN.DIN]GIR alone, keeps dancing in front of the deity.
[the] the scepter-bearer holds the poor man. They dance
[squatting?].
[] with the right hand
[] the *zintuḫi*-women sing
[] *kukmawaiya kukmawaiya*

The singing in Ḫattic continues until the broken edge of the tablet. These lines, which are untranslatable, mention the same song as recorded in KBo 19.161 iv 18'ff. and KBo 21.103+KUB 32.83. Both texts are direct descriptions of a ritual where the main figure is the NIN.DINGIR. In these texts, the Ḫattic song mentions the names of the Labarna and the Tawananna together with the deities Telipinu and Tetešhapi.

The reverse side of KBo 21.90 starts with the continuation of the Ḫattic song mentioning the Tawananna, and goes on to indicate that the NIN.DINGIR takes off the vestments; the parallel text KBo 21.103+KUB 32.83 calls these "the deity's vestments". In the next paragraph, she enters the carriage and goes to the deity's temple, where she delivers a special speech.

The paragraph recording her speech is parallel in both KBo 21.103+KUB 32.83 rev. lines 19'-31' and KBo 21.90 rev. lines 51'-54', and the combined texts can be translated as follows:

"when I go there, fear form me the leopard [(and the wolf!)] *lariya* (=fear?) the water!"¹¹⁵⁵ This one (is) / behold! the deity Tetešhapi." The NIN.DINGIR went on (saying): "When I go there, fear form me [(the leopard)] and the wolf. *lariya* the water!" That one (is)/ behold! the deity Tetešhapi."

This speech clearly sets the NIN.DINGIR in the place of the deity Tetešhapi. She speaks of herself as the deity in a hunting scene, which mentions the wolf and the leopard. Of these animals, the leopard is counted among the participants in rituals conducted together with the NIN.DINGIR in KBo 19.163 i 19'-24. The participants are the palace attendants, the overseer of the *ḫapiya*-men, the second in command *ḫapiya*-man, the scepter-bearer (of the NIN.DINGIR), the leopard-man, the SANGA-priest of the deity

23' [tar-ku-iš-ki-iz-zi-pát
LÚ^{GIS} MĀŠDA LÚ^{GIS}GIDRU ḫa-zi nu 'pár]-aš-na-an-te-eš
tar-ku-an-zi
24' [a]n-zi nu-za ZAG-it ki-iš-šar-at
25' [] MUNUS^{MES} zi-in-tu-u-ḫi-e-eš ŠIR^{RU}
26' [] ku-uk-ma-ua-i-ja ku-uk-ma-ua-i-ja

¹¹⁵⁵ For this translation see *CHD*, P/2 188.

Storm-god of Nerik. To this can be added the lines from KUB 36.90 obv. 15-18, saying: "Tomorrow they will anoint Tudḫaliya in your favorite places, Ḫakmiš and Nerik." The contexts in which the king or crown prince wore the deity's clothes must have been special. Perhaps one was during his inauguration, while performing for the first time as a priest.¹¹⁵⁹ The same can be said of the Hittite NIN.DINGIR: these texts may have been descriptions of her installation as a priestess whose major deities are Inara and Tetešḫapi.

¹¹⁵⁹ It can be suggested that the use of the word *aniyatta* in other texts should have implied in every case *šunaš aniyatta*, meaning that every time members of the royal family perform before the gods they wear the divine clothes. In this case, the argument for a special occasion such as an inauguration ritual does not apply.