


## DID HITTITE KINGS ACCLAIM THEMSELVES TO BE GOD?

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### Abstract

Generally, the kings ruled a country thanks to divine right in ancient societies. The kings had the power and authority in both religious and earthly affairs. In other words, the kings were chief executive, pontiff and commander-in-chief or people regarded them in this way.

It is generally accepted that the Hittite kings were not gods when they were alive, but they became gods after their deaths. Some studies on the Hittites also suggest that the Hittite kings, in particular the recent kings Tutḫalia IV and Šuppiluliuma II, declared themselves as god when they were alive. However, we think that none of the Hittite kings acclaimed themselves to be god before he died. Hittite kings did not make a god to themselves when alive, is examination based on archaeological and writing evidences in this paper.

**Keywords:** Human-god, Man-god, King-god, Deification, Hittite Kings.



### HİTİT KRALLARI KENDİLERİNİ TANRI İLAN ETTİLER Mİ?

#### Öz

Eskiçağ toplumlarında genellikle krallar tanrının verdiği güçle ülkelerini yönetmişlerdir. Krallar hem dini hem de dünyevi hayattaki tüm yetkileri elinde toplamışlardır. Yani krallar, baş yönetici, baş rahip, baş komutan konumlarında bulunmuşlar veya halkları tarafından öyle görülmüşlerdir.

Hitit krallarının yaşıyorlarken tanrı olmadıkları, ölümlemlerinden sonra tanrı oldukları, genel olarak kabul edilen düşüncedir. Ancak Hititlerle ilgili yapılan bazı çalışmalarda, Hitit krallarının, özellikle son dönem kralları olan Tutḫalia IV ve Šuppiluliuma II'nin, henüz daha hayatta iken kendilerini tanrı yaptıklarına dair bazı

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görüşler belirtilmiştir. Ancak hiçbir Hitit kralının kendisini ölmeden önce tanrı yapmadığını düşünmekteyiz. Bu çalışmada, Hitit krallarının hayatta iken kendilerini tanrı yapmadıkları konusu, arkeolojik ve yazılı kaynaklara dayanılarak incelenmiştir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** İnsan-tanrı, Adam-tanrı, Kral-tanrı, Hitit Kralları, Hititler



## Introduction

Almost all societies in ancient times were governed by the kingdom or monarchy. The kings had the power and authority in both religious and earthly affairs. In other words, the kings were chief executive, pontiff and commander-in-chief or they were regarded by their people in this way.

We do not know for sure how the rulers or kings acclaimed themselves to be gods in ancient times. However, the general idea is that the first king who deified himself was Naram-Sin, the Akkadian king. The most important hints about Naram-Sin's deification are victory stele of Naram-Sin (Fig. 1) or god determinative in front of his name in some inscriptions<sup>1</sup>.

The victory stele belonging to Naram-Sin describes the achievements of Naram-Sin especially against the Lullubi (a tribe in the Zagros Mountains). In this stele, the king is depicted with a horned headdress<sup>2</sup> which is thought to be specific to the gods. However, we believe that only the depiction of horned headdress should not be seen as a clear evidence that Naram-Sin made himself a god.

We see the most important evidence about Naram-Sin's deification from the written documents. In some written documents about him, the king was written together with god determinative (Kılıç & Ay, 2013, pp. 397 – 398) (Fig. 2). The presence of a god logogram in front of his name may suggest that he acclaimed himself to be god. In addition, in a seal in Tello/Ancient Girsu, Naram-Sin was stated to be the god of the Akkadian<sup>3</sup>. Separately from the Akkadian king Naram-Sin, Hamurabi, the king of Babylon, was also stated as god in some

<sup>1</sup> These features were commonly used methods. Sazanov, 2018, p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> Can look for means of horned-headdress: Selz, 2008, p. 16.

<sup>3</sup> "Naram-Sin, the strong male, god of Agade, king of the four quarters (i.e. of the universe): Lugal-ushumgal, scribe, governor of Lagash." Kuhrt, 1995, p. 51.

written documents<sup>4</sup>. The King stated that he enlightened the lands of Sumer and Akkad as the Sun god of the country of Babylon.

The foundations of the kingdom ideology in ancient Mesopotamian societies, especially in Akkadians and Sumerians, went back to gods. In their opinions, the kingdom belongs to Anu and Enlil. These gods determined the kings on the earth. The person who was decided to be a king was placed in a mother's womb by these gods (Engnell, 1967, p. 16). It can be thought that this was performed via Hiero Gamos.

In ancient Egyptian society, some information was found about the fact that kings were considered as gods. In a salutation hymn written for Ramses II, it was clearly stated that the king was a god<sup>5</sup>. In addition, Egyptian pharaohs were considered to be Horus while they were alive and Osiris after their death.

In ancient Egypt, the king's deity was thought to come in two ways. The first one was performed via Hiero Gamos as in Mesopotamian thought and the second one occurred with enthronement by the god (Engnell, 1967, p. 16).

### **A. Some Characteristic Features of God Kings in the History of Humanity**

In history, it is not known exactly how the kings acclaimed themselves to be god. There are two critical views on this issue. One of them is that the people who had the power of inspiration gained political identity besides their religious identity (Frazer, 1927, pp. 206 – 208). In other words, these people were able to influence people with their power and became an executive. The other one is that, as seen in many ancient societies, the king who was in power by the support of god considered himself as equal with the gods over time.

The kings who were thought to have divine characteristics had to have some powers or specialities or they were regarded to have some powers/specialities by their people. The fact that the world order was guaranteed by the god-king was one of the leading powers or specialities (Frazer, 1927, p. 238). In some societies, the god-kings were seen as mediators

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<sup>4</sup> "I am the Sun-god of Babel, who causes light to rise over the land of the Sumerian(s) and the Accadian(s)." Engnell, 1967, p. 23. Also can look relation with Naram-Sin and other deified governors in ancient Mesopotamia Brisch, 2003, pp. 40 - 41.

<sup>5</sup> "The god of sky and earth, Sun, living all over the country, (we) coming to you. Longevity god that organised by time and revolution be accompanied. You are breath of humanity, god of destiny, our king." Mensching, 2004, pp. 54 - 55.

who gave offerings that people cannot. In some societies, it was thought that only god - kings could provide many expectations such as harvest, yield, good weather (Frazer, 1894, pp. 14 – 15). And in some societies, gods-kings were regarded as ones who were able to consume foodstuff that ordinary people could not consume (Durkheim, 1995, pp. 128 – 129). Apart from these, it was believed that the god-kings were very powerful and they could command events such as earthquakes, floods, epidemics, or they had the power to stop them (Frazer, 1894, pp. 18 – 20).

Considering the opinions of the researchers about god-kings, it is seen that the god-kings were the beings who could maintain world order, make special offerings to the gods, give people agricultural and animal productivity, manage natural events and consume certain foods specific to the gods.

It is not exactly known how the god-kings gained the deity. They may have done this in two ways. First, they declared themselves as a god, and secondly, their deity may have been given by people living in their kingdom (Durkheim, 1995, pp. 214 – 246). People showed special attention and respect to the god-kings who governed them since their lives, livelihoods and many conditions depended on the activities of god-kings (Frazer, 1894, pp. 194 – 195). It was also stated that people could distinguish god-kings from real gods (Durkheim, 1995, pp. 75 – 76). For this reason, it can be said that there were differences in people's behavior towards god-kings and real gods. Besides, it was stated that there were some traditions in some societies like not mentioning god-kings everywhere and not eating their food residue (Mensching, 2004, p. 48).

God - kings were far from society. People may not have seen them at all throughout their lives because they could also be dangerous for them as well as being beneficial. It was pointed out that this danger resulted from the religious powers of them (Frazer, 1894, p. 157).

Even though they were far from society, god-kings were sometimes punished or killed by people in some negative situations and for various reasons. These situations were generally caused by the fact that weather conditions did not go as expected, a decrease in agricultural and animal productivity, natural disasters, epidemics and god-king's disability. (Frazer, 1894, pp. 105, 205, 207, 199 – 201; Frazer, 1927, pp. 241 – 242, 403 – 404, 406 – 407; Durkheim, 1995, pp. 57 - 58).

## B. The Hittite Kings

As in many ancient societies, the Hittites were also governed by monarchy. In the Hittites, as in the Mesopotamian and Egyptian societies, kings were determined by the god. However, it is not known for certain whether it was performed by *Hiero Gamos* as in those societies.

The Hittite kings, who were appointed by the gods as a king, became the pontiff of their gods. In written documents, they introduced themselves as *LÚŠANGA* or *šakunni*<sup>6</sup>. It was stated that these degrees were used for the other members of the Hittite royal family (Taggar – Cohen, 2006, p. 369, 371). The protection of the kings was expected from their gods in some written documents.<sup>7</sup> Also, it is known through the written and archaeological documents from the Hittites that the kings made various offerings to the gods through activities such as ritual ones<sup>8</sup>.

It is generally accepted that the Hittite kings were not gods when they were alive but they became gods after their deaths<sup>9</sup>. In the texts of the funeral rituals which are thought to belong to the King of Hittites, it is clearly stated that the king became a god after his death<sup>10</sup>. Some studies on the Hittites also suggest that the Hittite kings, in particular the recent kings Tuthalia IV and Šuppiluliuma II, declared themselves as god when they were alive. However, we think that none of the Hittite kings acclaimed themselves to be god before he died.

<sup>6</sup> KUB 41.29 iii 1 – 6: “The man of the Storm-god says: “Rise, Storm-god of Zippl[anda] from a pleasant dream! Behold, the Tabarna, the King, the ŠANGA- priest of your mother the Sun-goddess of Arinna, to Mount Daḫa your beloved (place) he (is about to) take you.” Taggar – Cohen, 2006, p. 369. We can see an numerous examples of this subject.

<sup>7</sup> Or. 90/800 1 – 9: “Say to His Majesty, my lord: Thus speaks the Queen, your maidservant: May all be well in the presence of Your Majesty, my lord! May the gods keep Your Majesty, my lord, alive and protect Your Majesty! Everything is well with me.” Hoffner, 2009, pp. 257 - 258.

<sup>8</sup> We can show AN.TAḪ.ŠUMŠAR fest as an example. In the twelfth day of festival celebrations: “Next day the king goes into the temple of Ziparwa: They open the grain storage vessel of the Storm-god of Hatti on that day. In the temple of the Sun-god(dess) they perform the hadauri festival. [...] they slaughter [ten] sheeps.”. Güterbock, 1960, p. 86.

<sup>9</sup> We can see best examples of this status in Telepinu Proclamation. Death of kings explained with “become a god” in this proclamation.

<sup>10</sup> KUB 30.16 + 39.1 Vs. I 1 – 8: “If a great [si]n occurs in Hattuša either king or queen becomes a god (i. e. dies), everyone, adult [and] young, take away reed Š. -objects and begin to wail. On what day he becomes a god, on that day they do the following: they offer one plough -ox for extrolling to his soul.” Kassian et al., 2002, p. 47.

### C. Kings of Old Kingdom Period

Hittite Kings did not make themselves gods beginning from their early periods. It was stated in Anitta text of Piṭhana (XVIIth Century BC), one of the first known kings of the Hittites, that he captured the city of Neša (Kaneš, Modern Kültepe) and his father Piṭhana was loved by the Storm God of the sky<sup>11</sup>.

In the text of Anitta, there is no information about whether father Piṭhana was a god while he was alive. The fact that Piṭhana was loved by the Storm God of the sky may indicate that he was an executive chosen by the god. Boasting about this may be a hint that he was not a god when he was alive.

After Piṭhana, Anitta (XVIIth Century BC) became the Hittite king. It is learned from the text of Anitta belonging to him that this king brought back the statue of his god Šiu, he had succeeded with his help and built a temple for the Storm God and Šiu in the city of Neša<sup>12</sup>. Based on these statements of Anitta, we can think that he did not make himself a god.

After Anitta, Ḫattušili I (BC 1650 – BC 1620) became the Hittite King. In his annuals, he stated that offered three MADNANU cars to the Arinna's Sun Goddess and that he won the battles like Piṭhana with the help of Arinna's Sun Goddess.<sup>13</sup> In addition, this king asked the Storm God to punish the ones

<sup>11</sup> CTH 1 Vs. 1 – 4: “Anitta, son of Piṭhana, king of the city Kussara, speaks thus: He was beloved by the Storm-god of heaven and he was beloved by the Storm-god, [...] of the king of Nesa the king of Kussara [...]” Neu, 1974, p. 11; Kuhrt, 1995, p. 226.

<sup>12</sup> CTH 1 Vs. 10 – 12: “After my father Piṭhana I put down in the same year a revolt. Whatever country rebelled, I defeated them all with (the help of) Šiu (god).” Vs. 36 – 42: “For a second time there [came] Piyušti, king of Hatti, and those of his helpers that he had brought with him, [I ...] them near Šalam[pa]. All the lands of Zalpuwa in the midst of the sea [...]. Long ago Uhna, the king of Zalpuwa, had taken away (the statue) of our god Šiu from Neša to Zalpuwa; but [aft]erwards I, Anitta, the great king, took [the statue] of our god Šiu from Zalpuwa back to Neša.” Rs. 55 – 56: “And in Neša I fortified the city. After the (fortification of) the city, I built a temple for the Storm-god of heaven and a temple for our god Šiu.” Neu, 1974, p. 11, 13; Kuhrt, 1995, pp. 226 - 227.

<sup>13</sup> CTH 4: “... After that I campaigned against Zalpa and I destroyed it, and took away its gods and three two-wheeled MADNANU (-wagons) I gave to the Sun-goddess of Arinna” ... “In the following year, however, I went to Arzawa, and I robbed them of cattle (and) sheep. But behind my back the enemy came from Hurri-land into my country. (Then) all the lands became hostile to me and the city of Ḫattuša alone remained. The Great King Tabarna, beloved of the Sun-goddess of Arinna (am I), and the Sun-goddess of Arinna set me upon her lap and she took me by the hand and went before me in the battle. I went to do battle in Nenašša and when the people of Nenašša beheld me they again opened (their city-gates).” Kuhrt, 1995, p. 241.

responsible for the failure in Uršu siege<sup>14</sup>. Considering Ḫattušili I stated that he appreciated the help of the sun goddess of Arinna for his success and he made offerings to her, we can say that this king did not declare himself as a god.

One of the kings of the Old Kingdom Period was Telepinu (BC 1525? – BC 1500?). This king issued an edict (Telepinu's Proclamation) to legalize his position. This edict contained information about the actions of the previous kings. He stated in this edict that the kings became a god when they died<sup>15</sup>. Also, it was stated in the edict that the gods withdrew the fruitfulness and abundance in the country because of the problems. As clearly stated in the text, the Early Hittite Kings became gods after they died. Besides, the gods continued to play an important role in the destiny of the country.

#### D. The Kings of New Kingdom or Empire Period

In Hittite history, there was a Middle Kingdom Period after Old Kingdom Period. This period was a complicated period for the Hittites. Almost no written document is available for this period about our subject.

After the Middle Kingdom Period, the Empire period came in the Hittites. As far as the written and archaeological documents are concerned, the kings of this period did not make themselves gods, either.

During the works in Ḫattuša, a sword was found which was thought to belong to Tuḫalia I/II (Fig. 3). It was learned from the inscription on the sword that this sword was offered to the Storm God<sup>16</sup>. The fact that a sword was offered to the Storm God may indicate that Tuḫalia I/II did not declare to be a god.

One of the kings of the Empire Period was Arnuwanda I (1390? BC - 1380? BC). It is known that during the reign of this king, The Kaska, who lived in the

<sup>14</sup> KBo 1. 11 Vs. 10 – 13: "Thus said the king: "When the city comes to ruin, an offense will have been committed, a [sin] brought about!" They answered: "We will give battle eightfold. The city will (indeed) come to ruin, but we will eradicate the offense." The king approved. (Then) they broke the battering-ram. The king was furious, (his) face (was) unpleasant- "They are always bringing me foul news! May the Storm-god wash you away!" Beckman, 1995, p. 25.

<sup>15</sup> CTH 19 Vs. I § 63 – 65: "As soon as Hantili [wa]s old and about to become a god (i.e. die), Zidanta murdered [Pišeni] son of Hantili, together with his sons [and also] the nobl[est] of his servants he murdered." Vs. II §21 1 – 7: "But the land became hostile against him: Ha[rt]agga, [...].la, ... Aḫhulašša. Wherever (his) soldiers campaigned, they did not return victorious. As Ammuna became a god, Zuru, the commander of the body-guard, sent secretly at that time a son of his family..." Kuhrt, 1995, pp. 245 - 246.

<sup>16</sup> "As Duthaliya the Great King shattered the Assuwa-Country he dedicated these swords to the Storm-God, his Lord." Ünal et al., 1990-91, p. 51.

north and northeast of the Hittites, attacked Hittite lands. The attacks of the Kaska left the king in a very difficult situation and the prayer texts were written to the gods. In the prayer texts written by Arnuwanda I and his wife Ašmunikal, the royal couple presented the Kaska attacks to the gods. They stated that the cult processes were carried out with difficulty because of the Kaska attacks and wished the help of gods<sup>17</sup>. Taking into account the information in the prayer text, we can say that this king did not make himself a god.

Šuppiluliuma I was one of the most important kings of the Hittite Empire period. During the reign of this king, the Hittites reached the empire level. Some of the texts belonging to the Hittite King Muršili II mentioned about the activities of his father Šuppiluliuma. According to these documents, the gods were on his father's side<sup>18</sup>. Also, this king made a treaty with Ugarit King Niqmaddu II. In the divine witness part of this treaty, the gods were written as witnesses<sup>19</sup>. The fact that Šuppiluliuma I received help from the gods in military campaigns and showed the gods as divine witnesses in the political treaties shows that he did not declare himself as god.

After Šuppiluliuma I, his son Arnuwanda II became the Hittite King. However, this king died in a very short time. Muršili II, who was the other son

<sup>17</sup> CTH 375 §1 - §2: "[Thus says] His majesty, Arnuwanda, Great King, and [Ašmunikal, Great Queen]: [To] you, O Sun-goddess of Arinna, [and to you, gods(?), this prayer(?), which Arnuwanda [...]. Only Hatti is a true, pure land for you gods, and only in the land of Hatti do we repeatedly give you pure, great, fine sacrifices. Only in the land of Hatti do we establish respect for you gods." §11 - §12: "We shall surely continue to tell you gods how the enemies [attacked(?)] the land of Hatti, plundered the land, and took it away, [...] and we shall continually bring our case before you. The lands that were supplying you, O gods of heaven with offering bread, libations, and tribute, from some of them the priests, the priestess, the holy priests, the anointed, the musicians, and the singers had gone, from others they carried off the tribute and the ritual objects of the gods." §26: "And even now, we, Arnuwanda, Great King, [and] Ašmunikal, Great Queen, have cared for you, O gods, and we kept invoking you, [O gods]." Singer, 2002, pp. 40 – 43.

<sup>18</sup> BoTU 34 2 – 10: "But when my father marched forward, he [did not] meet the Ḫayašaeen enemy in [the country of ...]. So my father went [after the Ḫayašaeen] enemy, but again he did not [meet] him. (But) the Kaškaean enemy, all of their tribal troops, he met in [the country]. And the gods stood by him: [The Sun-goddess of Arinna], the Storm-god of Ḫatti, the Storm-god of the Army, and Ištar of the battlefield, (so that) the enemy died in multitude. He also [took] many prisoners and brought them back to Šamuḫa." Güterbock, 1956, pp. 62 - 63.

<sup>19</sup> §7 16 – 21: "And whoever alters the words of this treaty tablet will transgress the oath. The Thousand Gods shall be aware (of the perpetrator, beginning with) the Storm-god of Heaven, the Sun-god of Heaven, the Storm-god of Hatti. The Sun-goddess of Arinna, Hebat of Kizzuwatna, Ishtar of Alalah, Nikkal of Nubanni. and the Storm-god of Mount Hazzi." Beckman, 1996, p. 32. Also we can see same states in the other treaties of Šuppiluliuma I.



of Šuppiluliuma I and the brother of Arnuwanda II, became the king After Arnuwanda II. He explained the deaths of his father and brother with being a god<sup>20</sup>. This information shows that the Hittites became gods after the death of the kings in this period as well. This king saw himself as the <sup>LÚ</sup>ŠANGA priest of his gods<sup>21</sup>. Muršili II made a military campaign to Arzawa country. Because of the messenger problem with Uḫḫaziti during this campaign, he decided to fight with him and asked the Storm God to be a judge for this battle<sup>22</sup>. Then Muršili II declared that he won the battle with the help of the gods<sup>23</sup>.

Plague started to spread from the prisoners brought by Šuppiluliuma I during the Syrian expeditions. The son of Šuppiluliuma I, Arnuwanda II, died of this disease. The plague epidemic continued its influence during the Muršili II period. The disease spread so much that Muršili II had to write the plague prayers. In these prayers, the King begged the gods and asked the gods to stop the plague<sup>24</sup>. In addition, Muršili II showed his gods as a witness in his political treaties<sup>25</sup>. At the same time, he became a stammerer and he asked for the gods'

<sup>20</sup> CTH 61 (KBo 3.4 + KUB 23.125) §2 - §3: "When I had not yet sat on yhe throne of my father, all the surrounding enemy lands had (already) begun hostilities. When my father became a god (i. e. He died) Arnuwanda, my brother, sat on the rhrone of his father... But when my brother Arnuwanda became a god, the enemy lands who were not (yet) making war, those enemy lands also became hostile." Götze, 1967, p. 15; Chavalas, 2006, p. 254.

<sup>21</sup> KUB 14.13 + 23 18 – 20: "O gods, my lords, I Muršili, your ŠANGA priest, have now bowed down to you. Lend an ear and listen to me, on account of the matter about which I have bowed down to you." Taggar – Cohen, 2006, p. 370.

<sup>22</sup> KBo 3.4 Vs. II 9 – 14: "But to Uḫḫaziti, I sent a messenger and wrote to him: "Those of my subjects who have come to your country, although I have repeatedly asked back fort hem, you have not returned them to me and you have insulted me and treated me with contempt. So up! We will fight with each other! And the Weather-god, my lord, shall judge our case!" Götze, 1967, p. 47.

<sup>23</sup> KBo 3.4 Vs. II 22 – 29: "He advanced on me for battle at the Aštarpa river near the locality Walma, and I, my sun, fought against him. And the Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, the might Weather-god, my lord, Mezulla and all gods ran before me. I overcame that Piyamaradu, the son of Uḫḫaziti, with his infantry and chariot – fighters and defeated him..." Götze, 1967, p. 51.

<sup>24</sup> CTH 378. III Vs. § 1 – 3: "O Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady! O gods, my lords! What is this [you have done]? You have allowed a plague into Hatti, so that Hatti has been badly oppressed [by the plague. People kept dying] at the time of my father, at the time of my brother, and now since I have become priest of the gods, they keep on dying [in my time]. For twenty years now people have been dying [in great numbers] in Hatti. Hatti [has been very badly damaged] by the plague... I, Mursili, [your priest, your servant,] hereby plead my case. Hear] me O gods, my lords! [Send away] the worry from my heart, [take away the anguish from my soul!] Let the plague [be removed] from Hatti, and send it to the enemy lands." Singer, 2002, pp. 56 - 57.

<sup>25</sup> The treaty between Muršili II of Hatti and Tuppi-Tešup of Amurru § 16 – 17: [... The Thousand Gods shall now stand] for this [oath]. They shall observe [and listen]. [The Sun-god of Heaven, the Sun-goddess] of Arinna, the Storm-god of Heaven, the Storm-god of Hatti, [Sheri], Hurri, Mount

help to recover from this illness<sup>26</sup>. We can say that Muršili II did not acclaim himself to be god since he gave importance to his gods at every opportunity in his political and religious activities.

After the Muršili II, Muwatalli was the head of the Hittite Kingdom. During the reign of this king, the battle of Kadesh took place between Egypt and the Hittite Empire, which was one of the most important battles of the time. Muwatalli moved the capital from Hattuša to Tarhuntašša before this battle. While the capital was carried, the cults of the gods were also moved. We can think that Muwatalli respected the gods since the cults of the gods were moved.

Hattušili III, who was the son of Muršili II, became one of the most important kings of the Empire period. Muršili II made his son Hattušili III the priest of Goddess Ištar because of a dream he had. Later, in the text called the apologia of Hattušili, it was stated that he was absolved of the charges of his enemies by means of his Goddess Ištar and he became a king<sup>27</sup>. In the same text, he described his father's death as being god.

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Nanni, Mount Hazzi, [the Storm-god of the Market(?), the Storm-god] of the Army, the Storm-god of Aleppo, the Storm-god of Zippalanda, [the Storm-god] of Nerik..." Beckman, 1996, p. 58.

<sup>26</sup> CTH 486 Vs. 1 – 10: "[My Sun] Muršili, Great King, [(thus says)]: (I, formerly) [(went)] to ruin (of) Kunnu and (here a) storm blow out later Storm-god th[(under)] [(terribly)]. And I fear and [decrease of word(s) in [(my mou)]th and word(s) in sm[(all quantities went)] up (and words fell from my lips). [(and)] I ne[(glec]ted to mentioned event. [(Whenas mention)]ed event ca[(me)] to me and came into [(sig)]ht in [(my dr)]am after pas[(sing)] of years. And hand of god [(reach)]ed [(to m)]e , (touched), my mouth glided, (my mouth vacated fully). And [(I consulted)] to oracle [(and)] [was determine]d Storm-god of Manu[(zziya)]. [(I con)]sulted rela[(ted to)] Storm-god of Manu[(zziya)]". Kaynar, 2014, p. 36.

<sup>27</sup> "Of the preferment of the goddess Šaušga I shall tell, and everyone shall hear it! And in the future the son of my son (i.e. my majesty), his grandson (and the further) descendants of my sun shall be (particularly) respectfull towards Šaušga among the gods. My father Muršili begot us four children: Halpašulupi, Muwatalli, Hattušili and Maššanauzzi, a daughter. Of all these I was the youngest child. And as long as I was a boy, I was a "reinholder" (important court function). Then Šaušga, my lady, sent to Muršili, my father, in a dream, Muwatalli, my brother (with the following words): "For Hattušili the years are (now only) short, he will not live (long). So give him to me, he shall be my priest, he shall survive." Then my father took me, (as) a boy, and gave me to the deity in service. And as a priest I brought (drink-) offerings to the deity. And I saw well-being in the hand of Šaušga, my lady. And Šaušga, my lady, took me by the hand and led me along the right parts. But when my father Muršili became a god (i. e. died), my brother Muwatalli sat upon the throne of his father; but I became army-commander before my brother... For me things were very unfavourable, and my brother Muwatalli ordered me to "Wheel" (this appears to have been the place where the king heard accusations of treason; precise meaning not clear). But Šaušga, my lady, appeared to me in a dream and said to me in the deram these words: "I am entrusting you a deity, so fear not!" and thanks to deity I was cleansed... The deity, my lady, never passed me over in a critical period." Kuhrt, 1995, pp. 259 - 260.

The Battle of Kadesh, which began during the Muwatalli period, ended during the reign of Hattušili III. The Treaty of Kadesh was signed at the end of this battle. The signatories to the treaty were Ramses II and Hattušili III. It was declared in the text of the treaty that the peace and brotherhood between the signatory parties were established by God<sup>28</sup>. Hittite King Hattušili also asked a doctor from Ramses II for his sister Matanazzi to become pregnant<sup>29</sup>. Besides of these, Hattušili III and Puduhepa, his wife, were depicted as libating to gods on the Fraktin relief (Fig. 4). Because of the existence of gods in every aspect of Hattušili III's life, we can say that this king did not deify himself while he was living.

After Hattušili III, Tuthalia IV took over the throne in Hittite Kingdom. This king is considered to be one of the kings who declared himself as a god when he was alive. When Tuthalia IV was just a prince, before his ascension to the throne, he was made a priest by his father to serve the gods, like many Hittite princes<sup>30</sup>. This king, like the other Hittite kings, prayed to his gods for his

<sup>28</sup> § 7 – 13: “Behold, I have enabled the being of goog peacefull brotherhood between us forever, so that there will (also) be good peacefull brotherhood a[mong] Egypt and Hatti forever... Behold, (now) Ramses, beloved of Amon, Great King, King of Egypt, is enabling (by means of present trraty) the (re) creation of the understanding that [the Sun-god] and the Storm-god had a created for Egypt and Hatti, so that following their! Age-old understanding, [no] enmity will ve possible between them ever.” Chavalas, 2006, p. 245.

<sup>29</sup> § 1 – 8: “[Thus says Wasmuaria] satepnaria, [Great King, King of Egypt], Son of the Sun-god, Ramses, [Beloved of Amon], Great King, King of Egypt: [Speak to Hattusili, Great King, King] of Hatti, my brother: Now I, [the Great King], your brother, am well May you, my [brother, be very well]! Say to [my brother: That which my brother] wrote [to me concerning] his [sister] Matanazzi: “Let my brother send a man to prepare medicines for her, so that she might be caused to give birth.” That is what my brother wrote to me. Say to my brother: Now, I, the King, your brother, know about Matanazzi, my brother’s sister. She is said to be fifty or sixty years old. It is not possible to prepare medicines for a woman who has completed fifty or sixty years so that she might still be caused to give birth. O that the Sun-god and the Storm-god might command, so that the ritual which will be performed will be carried out fully for my brother’s sister! And I, the king, your brother, shall send a competenet incantation priest and a competent [physician], and they will prepare medicines for her in order that she might give birth.” Beckman, 1996, pp. 131 - 132.

<sup>30</sup> KUB 25.11 iii 13 – 16: “When I Tu[tħalia] rose [to ... , my father] Hattušili the [great] king [... and] fort the Storm-god pf Nerik [he made me priest?]” Taggar – Cohen, 2006, p. 373.

military achievements<sup>31</sup> and stated that he had won his victories with the help of the gods<sup>32</sup>.

It is stated by some researchers that Tuthalia IV may have deified himself before he died. Their ideas are based on the fact that Tuthalia IV set up his own stele which was mentioned in the Emirgazi inscriptions<sup>33</sup> (Fig. 6). The fact that Tuthalia IV set up a stele for himself does not mean that he made himself a god. This king may have set up his own stele for the god cult after his death. We think that the time reference 'the son of my grandson' in the text indicates that this stele was built for the cult after his death. Tuthalia IV was depicted in the armpit of Šarruma, son of Storm-god, in the Yazılıkaya open-air temple (Fig. 5). In addition, a large number of gods were shown as witnesses in the treaty between Tuthalia IV and Kurunta (Beckman, 1996, pp. 115 - 116). Apart from these, Tuthalia IV begged the goddess to forgive him and win military successes because he neglected the festivals of the Sun Goddess of Arinna<sup>34</sup>.

<sup>31</sup> CTH 385.9 §1 1 – 10: “[. . .] Tudhaliya has made [a plea] as follows: I have sinned [against the Sun-goddess of Arinna], my lady, and I have offended the Sun-goddess of Arinna, [my lady]. [And when] I began to get oracular guidance, (it turned out that) I neglected your festivals. [If you], O Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, became angry with [me] on account of some festivals, take care [of me] again, O Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady! May I defeat the enemy! [If you, O Sun-goddess] of Arinna, my lady, will step down [to me], and I shall defeat the enemy, I shall [confess] my sin [before you] and never again [shall I omit] the festivals. I will not again interchange the spring and [autumn festivals]. [The festivals of spring] I shall perform only in the spring, [and the festivals of] autumn I shall perform only in the autumn. I shall never leave out [the festivals(?)] in [your] temple.” Singer, 2002, p. 108.

<sup>32</sup> The text of Yalburt sacred pool: “His majesty, great king, Labarnas, Tudhaiyas, greatking, hero, son of Hattusilis, great king, hero, [grandson] of Mursilis, greatking, hero, great-grandson [of Suppiluliumas, great king, hero]. By the grace (of) Tarhunt I have confirmed the warpa- (in this part) of the country... When Tarhunt, the Lord, ran before by (me), (I), greatkingi built (forts) in the Lukka lands (and) stationed troops (and) 100 chariots (in) Wiyanaawanda...” Woudhuizen, 1994 – 95, pp. 175 - 176. Also can see similar words in Hawkin’s translation: “...] by the grace. I the hero ..., the ..., the Great King. When the Storm-god, the Lord, ran before me, The Storm-god, the Lord, ran before (me), and I the Sun(?) conquered the city / land Atpa...” Hawkins, 1995, p. 69.

<sup>33</sup> Texts of Emirgazi altars §2 – 10: “and (on) Table-Mountain put Á.CERVUS<sub>2</sub> and I for myself set this stele in front. (He) who (is) my grandson’s son [...] let thar one sit/dwell to/fort his stele! And in future let no one damage this stele, let no one remove (it)” Hawkins, 1995, p. 89.

<sup>34</sup> CTH 385.9 §1: “[. . .] Tudhaliya has made [a plea] as follows: I have sinned [against the Sun-goddess of Arinna], my lady, and I have offended the Sun-goddess of Arinna, [my lady]. [And when] I began to get oracular guidance, (it turned out that) I neglected your festivals. [If you], O Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, became angry with [me] on account of some festivals, take care [of me] again, O Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady! May I defeat the enemy! [If you, O Sun-goddess] of Arinna, my lady, will step down [to me], and I shall defeat the enemy, I shall [confess] my sin [before you] and never again [shall I omit] the festivals. I will not again interchange the spring and [autumn festivals]. [The festivals of

One of the last kings of the Hittites was Šuppiluliuma II. Because of the horned-cap relief and inscription (Fig. 7) in the entrance of the room called Hieroglyph Chamber in Güneykale, it was thought that this king deified himself before he died. There is no conclusive evidence that the Šuppiluliuma referred to in the inscription was Šuppiluliuma II<sup>35</sup>. The expression 'I'm superior to all the old kings' can indicate that his relief was made for Šuppiluliuma I. Also, in a written document belonging to this king, it was stated the king was <sup>LÚ</sup>ŠANGA priest of Arinna's Sun Goddess<sup>36</sup>. We can say that Šuppiluliuma II did not deify himself when he was alive because the king showed himself as the priest of the god.

Hieroglyphic inscription of Nišantepe (Fig. 8) belongs to Šuppiluliuma II. This inscription was not interpreted completely since it was quite damaged. Most probably the king mentioned about his father's monument and his military expedition on Cyprus (Alašiya) in this inscription (De Martino, 2006, p. 117).

### Conclusion

The Hittite kings were determined by god as in many of the former Asian Minor societies. However, the Hittite kings were not the children of god, they were the kings who were loved and supported by the god.

The societies with god-kings expected many qualities from them. These were the guarantee of the world order, made the offerings that the ordinary people could not make, the good harvest, the yield, the consumption of the foods that the normal people could not consume, and the management of the natural events.

When we look at the Hittites, it was seen that the world order was not provided by the kings but by the gods. Good harvest and yield were in control of the gods. In the same way, the gods ruled the natural events. According to the

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spring] I shall perform only in the spring, [and the festivals of] autumn I shall perform only in the autumn. I shall never leave out [the festivals(?)] in [your] temple." Singer, 2002, p. 108.

<sup>35</sup> §1 – 3: "When (to) Hatti the Sun(?) subject(ed) all the land(s) Wiyanawanda, Tamina, Maša, Luka, Ikuna, ... former Great Kings (I) excel(led)(?), (did) Šuppiluliuma, Great King, hero, all the god(s), the Sun-goddess of Arinna, the Storm-god of Hatti, the Storm-god of Army, Šaušga, the Sword-god, the Storm-god of Šapini(?), the god(s) of Hatti, ... (they) stood with favour." Hawkins, 1995, p. 23.

<sup>36</sup> KBo 12.38 10 – 12: "Let this tribute from the king of Alašiya and the pidduri-commissioner be (owed) to the Sun-goddess of Arinna and to the Tabarna, Great King, ŠANGA- priest of the Sun-goddess of Arinna." Taggar – Cohen, 2006, p. 373.

ritual texts, normal people were also able to make offerings made by the kings. It is not known exactly whether there was a specific food for the god-kings.

Some societies with the god-kings punished or killed them in some cases. This occurred due to the spread of epidemics in the country, low agricultural yields or the fact that the god-king was physically disabled. In some societies, the god-kings were killed or dethroned because it was thought they had lost their characteristics when they were old.

In the Hittite society, the kings were not treated like this. Despite the drought in the Tuthalia IV period, he remained on the throne. Similarly, the king was not dethroned or harmed during the plague in the country. Mursili II continued to be a king when he had tongue paralysis.

Also, some hints in the Hittite documents showed that kings were not gods when they were alive. In the first place, in many written texts, the death of the king was equivalent to being god. The Hittite kings were the priest of the god before they became the king, and the priest of god after they became the king. Accordingly, they were not worshipped as the gods in the Hittite pantheon. Actually, in many rituals, they themselves made an offering to the gods. They stated that they became king with the help of the gods and that they were victorious thanks to their support. They made an oracular rituals. If they were god, they would see the future. They begged the god for the epidemic in the country. If they were gods themselves, they could finish the epidemic. They also applied to doctors in some cases. However, if they had divinity qualities, they would have handled many problems themselves.

Taking into account all this information, we think that no Hittite king himself was a god when he was alive. However, we should also note that if new finds are reached, this thought may change.



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APPENDICES



Fig. 1. Victory Stele of Naram-Sin. (Collon, 1995, p. 75)

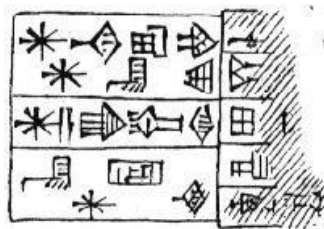


Fig. 2. Naram-Sin, god, god of Akkade. (Kılıç & Ay, 2013, p. 398)



Fig. 3. Sword of Tuḫalia I/II (Çorum Archaeological Museum)

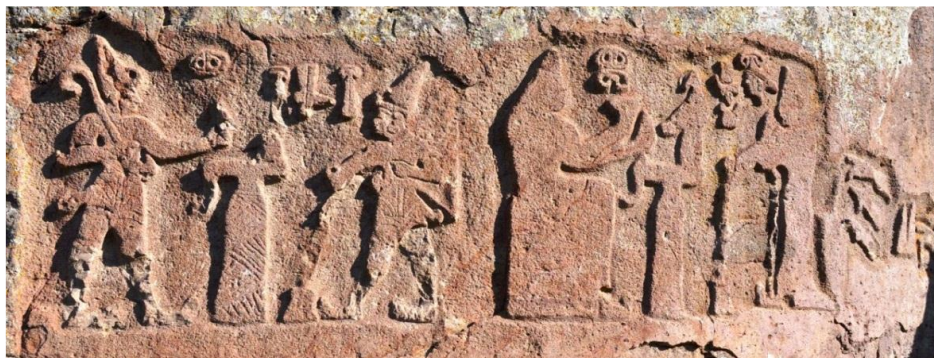


Fig. 4. Fraktin relief. ([www.hittitemonuments.com](http://www.hittitemonuments.com))



Fig. 5. Yazılıkaya B room. Relief of Šarruma and Tuḫḫalia IV



Fig. 6. Emirgazi altars. ([www.hittitemonuments.com](http://www.hittitemonuments.com))





Fig. 7. Šuppiliuma relief on southcastle.



Fig. 8. Nişantaş Inscription.