

The Royal Cult in Hatti

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There are two possible interpretations of the phrase "royal cult": first, worship performed by or under the aegis of the king for the gods of his realm; and secondly, the organized worship of the king himself as a divine being. In regard to the first sense of the term "royal cult" we know next to nothing about the specific forms of any Hittite worship of the gods other than the official royally sanctioned and supported state cult.

The king was certainly the most important human figure in ancient Hatti, both as seen from textual evidence and from the monumental art. He occupied a central position in every sphere of public life, not the least in the official state cult, where he presided at the major festivals. It has been often noted that the king's presence at major religious festivals took precedence even over his duties as a battlefield commander, as witnessed by reports in the annals of king Muršili II that the king left the battlefield at crucial moments in order to return to Hattuša to preside over a festival.¹

The King on Relief Scenes of Worship

Yazılıkaya

The importance of the king in the state cult is graphically illustrated by the reliefs in Chamber A of the chief Hittite outdoor sanctuary

1. See for example passages translated into German in A. Götze, *Die Annalen des Muršiliš* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1933), 139, 163, 189-91. Spanish translations in Alberto Bernabé and Juan Antonio Álvarez-Pedrosa, *Historia y Leyes de Los Hititas: Textos del Reino Medio y del Imperio Nuevo* (Madrid: Akal, 2000), 138-39, 145, 152-53. On the impossibility of delegating this duty to a subordinate see O. R. Gurney, *The Hittites* (New York: Penguin Books, 1990), 53. T. R. Bryce, *Life and Society in the Hittite World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 30-31, is wrong to assume a routine delegation of this duty, although as Gurney says, it was done in extreme emergencies and was admitted as a sin.

Yazılıkaya.² The reliefs show two long lines of gods and goddesses that converge on a central point, where the chief god, Teššub, and the chief goddess, Hebat, face each other. On a rock face exactly opposite to this central point the sculptor has carved the likeness of the only human depicted in this divine scene. The figure is that of King Tudḫaliya IV (c. 1237-1209 B.C.³), clothed in the garb of the sun-god, and standing on two mountain peaks.

The symmetry of the scene is remarkable: the human king, Tudḫaliya, confronts the divine king, Teššub, and his queen. The two male figures share significant features. Although the king is a human, like Teššub he bears iconography of deity. He is dressed exactly like the sun-god, who appears in the left-hand procession in the same chamber. As Teššub stands upon two deified mountains, so Tudḫaliya stands upon two mountain peaks, although unlike Teššub's mountains these are not portrayed anthropomorphically. As Teššub is king of the assemblage of deities represented on the walls of the chamber, so Tudḫaliya is king of the human worshippers who assembled in the central area of the chamber.

Alaca Höyük

At Alaca an unidentified king stands before an offering table, with the queen standing behind him.⁴ Across the offering table is a pedestal on top of which is a standing bull figure, representing a storm-god. The king is dressed like the priests who appear on the same reliefs. He wears an ankle-length robe with sleeves, a skull-cap, and earrings.⁵ Unlike them he also carries an inverted crook (Hittite *kalmuš*)⁶ in his right hand. He holds

2. K. Bittel, *Die Hethiter: Die Kunst Anatoliens vom Ende des 3. bis zum Anfang des 1. Jahrtausends vor Christus* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1976), figs. 232-34, 249.

3. It is presently impossible to establish an absolute chronology for the history of the Hittites. For the sake of convenience I have keyed the few references to dates in this essay to the chronological chart in the newly published history of the Hittites by Trevor R. Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), xiii-xiv. See his discussion of the subject on pp. 408-15.

4. K. Bittel, *Die Hethiter*, fig. 214.

5. On Hittite dress, see A. Goetze, "Hittite Dress," in *Corolla linguistica: Festschrift F. Sommer*, ed. H. Krahe (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1955), 48-62; and J. V. Canby, "Jewelry and Personal Arts in Anatolia," in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, ed. J. Sasson et al. (New York: Scribners, 1995), 1673-84. On the priestly dress of the Hittite king, see S. Alp, "La désignation de lituus en hittite," *JCS* 1 (1947): 164-75; A. Goetze, "The Priestly Dress of the Hittite King," *JCS* 1 (1947): 176-85; and Th. P. J. van den Hout, review of P. J. Neve, *Hattuša—Stadt der Götter und Tempel* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1992), *BiOr* 52 (1995): 545-73.

6. On the Hittite *kalmuš* see S. Alp, "La désignation," and "G¹Škalmuš 'Lituus' und HUB.BI 'Earring' in the Hittite Texts," *Belleten* 46 (1948): 320-24. For more recent textual documentation see J. Puhvel, *Hittite Etymological Dictionary*, vol. 4: K (Berlin: Mouton de

up his left hand in a gesture of greeting and veneration. The queen and priests hold up their right hands in the same gesture.⁷

Fraktin, Eflatun Pinar, Sirkeli

At Fraktin Hattušili III worships a god, while his queen Puduhepa worships a goddess.⁸ Both pour libations into a container sitting on the ground. At Sirkeli, on the River Ceyhan, King Muwatalli II is depicted in relief.⁹ He is attired in the same priestly garb worn by the unnamed king at Alaca and Tudhaliya IV at Yazılıkaya. No worshipped deity is shown on the relief unless that deity is the king himself.¹⁰

The King as Worshipper and Leader of Worship

We have just seen a few examples of graphic representations of the Hittite king at worship. But how were the deities worshipped by the king visually represented?

The Tangible Representation of the Deity

We have five sources of information about Hittite visual images of deities: rock reliefs, sculptured blocks (i.e., orthostats), relief vases, seal impres-

Gruyter, 1997), s. v. *kalmuš*; Harry A. Hoffner, Jr., "Thoughts on a New Volume of a Hittite Dictionary" *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 120 (2000): 70; and Gary M. Beckman, "'My Sun-God': Reflections of Mesopotamian Conceptions of Kingship among the Hittites," in *Ideologies as Intercultural Phenomena: Proceedings of the Third Annual Symposium of the Assyrian and Babylonian Intellectual Heritage Project held in Chicago, USA, October 27-31, 2000*, ed. A. Panaino and G. Pettinato, Melammu Symposia III (Milan: Università de Bologna & ISIAO, 2002), 42.

7. K. Bittel, *Die Hethiter*, figs. 212 and 214. Because others besides the king perform this gesture, it should not be equated with the important delegating-authorizing hand gesture that the king used in the cult (*QĀTAM dāi*), on which see David P. Wright, "The Gesture of Hand Placement in the Hebrew Bible and in Hittite Literature" *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 106 (1986): 433-46; Stefano de Martino and Fiorella Imparati, "La 'mano' nelle più significative espressioni idiomatiche ittite," in *do-ra-qe pe-re: Studi in memoria di Adriana Quattordio Moreschini*, ed. L. Agostiniani, M. G. Arcamone, O. Carruba, F. Imparati, and R. Rizza, (Pisa: Istituti editoriali e poligrafici internazionali, 1998), 175-85; Harry A. Hoffner, Jr., "Ancient Israel's Literary Heritage Compared with Hittite Textual Data," in *The Future of Biblical Archaeology: Reassessing Methodologies and Assumptions*, ed. James K. Hoffmeier and Alan R. Millard (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2004), 188-89.

8. K. Bittel, *Die Hethiter*, figs. 196 and 198.

9. K. Bittel, *Die Hethiter*, fig. 197.

10. K. Bittel, *Die Hethiter*, fig. 195.

sions showing worship, and verbal descriptions of cult images in cuneiform texts. These sources reveal various forms of divine representation.

Simple Stela

Judging from cult inventory texts from the reign of Tudhaliya IV which record the replacing of earlier cult images by forms more acceptable to the current period, the earliest cult images were frequently simple stelae, perhaps with images carved in low relief and accompanied by a hieroglyphic inscription. These stelae were called *huwaši*-stones, the Sumerogram for which was ZI.KIN. It is obvious that just such a representation of the state deities is found in the sanctuary of Yazılıkaya. And indeed some scholars have considered the entire relief-covered galleries of Yazılıkaya to be such a *huwaši*.¹¹ Yet most examples of *huwaši*-stones were probably free-standing stelae with bas reliefs, not huge galleries of reliefs on living rock walls. Thus, according to the texts, a *huwaši* can be knocked over and even stolen.¹²

Theriomorphic Images

Cult inventories from Tudhaliya's time record how these stelae were replaced or supplemented by images in the round made in precious metals.¹³ Scenes on the orthostats at Alaca show the worshipped deity as a bull.¹⁴ And although this bull figure is part of a rock relief or *huwaši*, it imitated actual bull statuettes in the round used as cult images.

In a worship scene on the Old Hittite relief vase from Inandiktepe a deity portrayed as a bull standing on a pedestal (no. 18) receives worship from a male figure (no. 22) facing him and holding an elevated cup behind two other smaller persons who are in the act of killing a trussed-up kneeling bull.¹⁵ The larger man holds the elevated cup in his right

11. See, for example, C. W. Carter, "Hittite Cult Inventories," Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1962.

12. For knocked-over *huwaši*'s see CHD L-N, 18. For possible stealing of a *huwaši* see H. A. Hoffner, Jr., *The Laws of the Hittites: A Critical Edition* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1997), 116-17, 204-5. For a comprehensive examination of the evidence in cult inventories see Joost Hazenbos, *The Organization of the Anatolian Local Cults during the 13th Century BC* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2002), 174-75.

13. See Hazenbos, *Organization*, 173-90.

14. K. Bittel, *Die Hethiter*, fig. 214.

15. T. Özgüç, *Inandiktepe: An Important Cult Center in the Old Hittite Period* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1988), fold-out fig. 64 on p. 175; pl. H, panel 1.

hand and holds his left hand up in the same gesture of greeting and veneration used by the king on rock reliefs.

Cult inventories often mention drinking vessels as cult objects.¹⁶ Recovered examples (*bibrū* from the Schimmel Collection) match the textual descriptions in the cult inventories.¹⁷ A verbal description of a very similar cult image is found in a cult inventory text: "(Image of) the Storm-God of the (Royal) House: a silver bull's neck, (the animal shown) with forequarters, kneeling. His two festivals are in autumn and spring."¹⁸

Anthropomorphic Statues

Of the fully anthropomorphic statuettes made of gold described in cult inventories only a few small examples have been recovered.¹⁹

The King's Dress at Worship

The king's dress at worship is not uniform. On the reliefs at Alaca and Yazılıkaya it is an ankle-length priestly robe and skull-cap. At Fraktin it is a short kilt, dagger, and conical horned hat. In the cuneiform texts describing festivals the king's dress is not described. A term that apparently covers both his dress and his carried implements is the Hittite word *aniyatta*, sometimes translated "regalia." After the king leaves his palace, he proceeds immediately to the wash house (É DU₁₀.ÚS.SA), where he dons his *aniyatta* and his gold earrings, and proceeds from there to the place of worship.²⁰ But at times during the description of the festival itself there is mention of some item of his dress or equipment, such as his crook (*kalmuš*), which he carries in an inverted position, in contrast to deities, who, when they are shown with the crook, carry it with the curved end upward.²¹ If this is a consistent contrast, it might mark the king as holder of *delegated* authority possessed *inherently* by the gods.

The King as High Priest

Building and Furnishing Temples

All temples were constructed under the direction of the king. A foundation ritual dating from the Old Kingdom shows how intertwined were

the ideology of kingship and the ability to construct temples possessing the necessary numinous qualities.²²

Maintaining Worship Places

Not all worship sites were temples in the strict sense of that word. Sacred springs were often furnished with reliefs and free-standing stelae, which had to be maintained. Identified sites of such sacred spring complexes are at Eflâtun Pinar,²³ and in Hattuša itself both at Temple 1 in the Lower City²⁴ and on the so-called Southern Citadel.²⁵

In his instructions to the provincial governors the king explicitly laid this responsibility upon them, adding that written records should be kept of the current condition and staff of all worship sites in the governor's district.²⁶ Although the instructions for the governors date from as early as the Middle Hittite period (c. 1400-1350 B.C.), the first examples we possess of such records—the so-called "cult inventories"²⁷—date from the end of the New Kingdom (c. 1260-1190 B.C.). They tell the names of deities worshipped, whether or not there was a temple building, the number and rank of the priestly staff, and what festivals were celebrated there in the course of a year.

Should any misfortune befall the royal family or the realm as a whole, oracular inquiries were instituted to determine the cause of divine anger.²⁸ Often the causes uncovered concerned failures in the cult: the neglect of a festival or damage done to a cult image. The king would immediately authorize steps to correct the abuse. But sometimes there was no immediate favorable response from the gods. During a plague that ravaged Hatti for twenty years, king Muršili II (c. 1321-1295 B.C.) instituted repeated oracular inquiries and responded to the results of

22. KUB 29.1 and duplicates (CTH 414), translated into English by A. Goetze in *ANET*, 357-58. See also F. Starke, "Halmašuit im Anitta-Texte und die hethitische Ideologie vom Königtum," *ZA* 69 (1979): 47-120; and M. Marazzi, "Costruiamo la reggia, fondiamo la regalità: Note intorno ad un rituale antico-ittita (CTH 414)," *VO* 5 (1982): 117-69.

23. J. Börker-Klähn and Ch. Börker, "Eflatun Pinar. Zu Rekonstruktion, Deutung und Datierung," in *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 90 (1975): 1-41; and K. Bittel, *Die Hethiter*, 222, fig. 257.

24. P. Neve, *Hattuša—Stadt der Götter und Tempel: Neue Ausgrabungen in der Hauptstadt der Hethiter* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1992), 79-80, Abb. 224-25.

25. P. Neve, *Hattuša*, 68-69, Abb. 194, 197-98.

26. See English translation of instructions to the governors about caring for such stelae and sacred springs in *ANET*, 210-11, and in *The Context of Scripture: Canonical Compositions, Monumental Inscriptions and Archival Documents from the Biblical World*, vol. 1, ed. W. W. Hallo and K. L. Younger (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1997), 224, §§32-34.

27. C. W. Carter, "Cult Inventories."

28. See English translations in W. W. Hallo and K. L. Younger, eds., *Context*, 204-7.

16. See Hazenbos, *Organization*, 173-74.

17. The *bibrū* are pictured in K. Bittel, *Die Hethiter*, figs. 169 and 178.

18. See KUB 38.2 ii 14-16.

19. K. Bittel, *Die Hethiter*, figs. 167-68 and 170-73.

20. For example, in KUB 2.13 i 1-4.

21. Bittel, figures 194 and 198.

each, without any relief. His anguish and confusion are evident in the so-called "plague prayers" he composed.²⁹

Daily Worship

That the king worshipped the gods daily by means of formal prayers is shown by the colophon of the royal prayer texts, one of which reads as follows: "A scribe will speak this tablet daily to the deity and praise the deity."³⁰ That the daily prayer was actually spoken aloud by a scribe does not eliminate the fact that *what* was read were the king's own words. This daily worship of the deities took place in the privacy of the temple cella, where the statue of the deity stood.

The Festivals

General Introduction

In virtually all festival texts the king (and sometimes the queen) played a central role in the rituals. It was therefore extremely important that he be available. For this reason even in the midst of vital military campaigns the king would leave the scene of battle to return to the homeland for the celebration of major festivals.³¹ Yet this didn't always mean returning to the capital city. For in the annals of Muršili II the king explains how he celebrated the "yearly festival" after he had finished the year's campaigning and entered winter quarters near the River Aštarpa.³² However, there are some festival texts in which the chief celebrant is neither king nor queen, but a prince (DUMU LUGAL) or the high priestess referred to with the Sumerogram NIN.DINGIR.

Both king and people were very proud of the festivals by which they entertained and appeased their deities. In their daily prayer to the god Telipinu, the king and queen say: "You, Telipinu, are a noble god. Your worship is firmly established in the Ḫatti land. In no other land is it so (firmly established). Festivals and sacrifices, pure and holy, are presented

29. Historical treatment most recently in T. R. Bryce, *Kingdom*, 223-25. See translation by G. Beckman in W. W. Hallo and K. L. Younger, eds., *Context*, 156-60.

30. KUB 24.1 i 1-2, ed. O. R. Gurney, "Hittite Prayers of Mursili II," *AAA* 27 (1940): 3-163. Translation in Itamar Singer, *Hittite Prayers* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2002), 54.

31. See above in note 1.

32. KBo 3.4 ii 47-49 (decennial annals), edited in Götze, *Annalen*, 60.

to you in the Ḫatti land. . . . Lofty temples adorned with silver and gold are yours in the Ḫatti land. . . . Cups, rhyta, silver, gold, and precious stones are yours in the Ḫatti land. . . . Festivals too—the monthly festival, the festivals of the cycle of the year, ceremonies of winter, spring, and autumn . . . they celebrate for you in the Ḫatti land."³³ The passage just quoted mentions a monthly festival, most likely either at full or new moon, and seasonal ones scattered throughout the year. Some scholars maintain that the Hittites only distinguished three seasons: spring, autumn, and winter, with what we call summer consisting of the end of Hittite "spring" and the beginning of their "autumn." In this case, the above text indicates no season in which there was no festival. We have no text that contains a full and official cult calendar for the capital city.

Festivals were of varying length. For some that length is not stated in the preserved parts of the text. The longest known festival was the spring AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival, which lasted for 38 days.³⁴

The Names of the Festivals

The cuneiform texts speak of a "monthly festival" (Sumerian EZEN₄.ITU), a "yearly festival" (EZEN₄ MU-TI) and festivals of autumn and spring. The names of specific festivals often contain words for seasons of the year, meteorological phenomena such as rain, thunder, familiar agricultural activities such as plowing, reaping, cutting grapes, tools like the sickle, or harvested plants.³⁵

The Seasonal Festivals

The most important spring festival celebrated the appearance of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM plant. The most important autumn festival was that named the "Festival of Haste" (EZEN₄ *nuntarriyašḫaš*). Colophons tell us

33. KUB 24.1 i 18-27, ii 1-6. Translation adapted from A. Goetze, "Hittite Prayers," in *ANET*, 396-97. See also translation in Singer, *Hittite Prayers*, 54-55.

34. H. G. Güterbock, *Perspectives on Hittite Civilization: Selected Writings*, ed. H. A. Hoffner, Jr. (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1997), 89.

35. Although eighty different names of festivals are listed in H. A. Hoffner, Jr., *An English-Hittite Glossary* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1967), 39-41, many may be alternate names for the same festival, and not all were royal or national festivals requiring the king's presence. See also H. G. Güterbock, "Some Aspects of Hittite Festivals," in *Comptes rendus de la 17^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* (Brussels: Comité Belge de Recherches en Mésopotamie, 1969), 175-80, reprinted in *Perspectives*, 87-90, esp. 88. A list of festival names occurring in cult inventories can be found in Hazenbos, *Organization*, 54-55.

this was celebrated "when the king returns from a (summer-long) campaign." During this festival the king was required to travel from one cult center to another over a prescribed route.³⁶ At each stop he presided over the worship of the local deities. It is called "the festival of haste" because the king's travel needed to be rapid in order to cover the entire route within the prescribed period.

Activities at the Festivals

What went on during a typical Hittite festival? And in particular what did the king do? First, we must understand that his roles as *builder* of the temple, *donor* of its most valuable furnishings,³⁷ and *observer* and *supervisor* of the rites were of equal importance to his function as an *active participant*. In fact, through the gesture of extending his hand toward another celebrant, the king figuratively performed many more of the concrete actions of worship than would appear at first glance.³⁸ From this point of view we must also include among his worshipping actions those performed by his subordinates. Prominent among these actions were those intended to *entertain* the deities.³⁹

The Priests' and Performers' Actions: Entertaining the God

Such entertainment had many forms. First, the god's image was placed on a litter and brought out of his temple to a pleasant location in the countryside just outside the city. In that bucolic location the god was entertained. Musicians played for him.⁴⁰ We do not know the identity of

36. See discussion of the outline of activities of this festival in H. G. Güterbock, "Religion und Kultus der Hethiter," in *Neuere Hethiterforschung*, ed. G. Walser (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1964), 68-69. More recently see Ph. H. J. Houwink ten Cate, "Brief Comments on the Hittite Cult Calendar: The Main Recension of the Outline of the *nuntarrišhaš* Festival, especially Days 8-12 and 15-22," in *Documentum Asiae Minoris Antiquae*, ed. E. Neu and Ch. Rüster (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1988), 167-94; Silvin Košak, "The Hittite *nuntarri-jashas*-Festival (CTH 626)," *Linguistica* 16 (1976): 55-64; M. Popko, "Ein neues Fragment des hethitischen 'nuntarri-jashas'-Festrituals," *AoF* 13 (1986): 219-23; and the discussion in V. Haas, *Geschichte der hethitischen Religion* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994), 827-47.

37. Often from plunder taken in battle. See KBo 10.2 i 11-14, 37-40, ed. F. Imparati and Cl. Saporetti, "L'autobiografia di Hattusili I," *SCO* 14 (1965): 40-85; H. C. Melchert, "The Acts of Hattusili I," *JNES* 37 (1978): 1-22.

38. On the extended-hand gesture in both Hittite (*keššeran dāi*-) and Israelite (*sāmakh yadō*) ritual, see literature cited above in footnote 7.

39. The Hittite word for this was *tuškaratt*-, "entertainment, diversion."

40. See St. de Martino, "Music, Dance, and Processions in Hittite Anatolia," in *Civiliza-*

all terms for musical instruments used in the festivals. But the reliefs and relief vases show stringed instruments such as lyres, drums, tambourines, and flutes.⁴¹ In most cases we can match these with words from the texts. Music soothed and pleased the gods.

But there were also contests of various types: athletic and otherwise.⁴² The cult inventories mention wrestling, boxing, stone-throwing, foot-racing, and chariot racing. The Alaca reliefs show acrobatics and sword-swallowing,⁴³ which now can also be attested from newly published text fragments.⁴⁴

There was also cult drama: mock battles in which one group called the "men of Maša," wielding "weapons of reed," fought against another group called the "Men of Hatti," who wielded weapons of bronze.⁴⁵ Of course, the "Men of Hatti" won! Another drama in the KILAM festival involved men from the city Tišaruliya.⁴⁶ The opening words of the Hittite myth of the great serpent identify the story as "the cult legend of the *Purulli*-Festival."⁴⁷ This would seem to indicate that the serpent story was actually acted out during the *Purulli*-Festival. One scholar has recently sought to identify characters in the myth with personages mentioned in the cult texts describing a festival for the Hattian goddess Tetešhawi.⁴⁸ And other scholars believe that the mortal Hupašiya, who is the goddess

tions of the Ancient Near East, 2661-70; "Musik. A. III. Bei den Hethitern," *RIA* 8 (1997): 483-88; H. M. Kümmel, "Gesang und Gesanglosigkeit in der hethitischen Kultmusik," in *Festschrift Heinrich Otten*, ed. E. Neu and Ch. Rüster (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1973), 169-78. See the depiction in K. Bittel, *Die Hethiter*, fig. 219.

41. For such musical instruments in art see Bittel, *Die Hethiter*, figures 141, 143, and 219.

42. On these contests, see C. W. Carter, "Athletic Contests in Hittite Religious Festivals," *JNES* 47 (1988): 185-87; H. Ehelolf, "Wettlauf und szenisches Spiel im hethitischen Ritual," *SPAW* (1925): 267-72; V. Haas, "Kompositbogen und Bogenschiessen als Wettkampf im Alten Orient," *Nikephoros* 2 (1989): 27-41; J. Puhvel, "Hittite Athletics as Prefigurations of Ancient Greek Games," in *The Archaeology of the Olympics*, ed. W. Raschke (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988); and St. de Martino, "Music," 2661-70.

43. K. Bittel, *Die Hethiter*, 193, fig. 218.

44. See O. R. Gurney, "The Ladder-Men at Alaca Höyük," *AnSt* 44 (1994): 219-20; A. Ünal, "Boğazköy Kılıcın Üzerindeki Akadca Adak Yazısı Hakkında Yeni Gözlemler," in *Nimet Özgüç'e armağan: Aspects of Art and Iconography: Anatolia and its Neighbors*, ed. M. Mellink et al. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1993), 727-30.

45. See H. Ehelolf, "Wettlauf," 267-72.

46. See Th. P. J. van den Hout, "A Tale of Tissaruli(ya): A Dramatic Interlude in the Hittite KILAM Festival?" *JNES* 50 (1991): 193-202.

47. For recent translations, see W. W. Hallo and K. L. Younger, eds., *Context*, 150-51, and H. A. Hoffner, Jr., *Hittite Myths* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, second ed. 1998), 10-14. The text was edited by G. Beckman, "The Anatolian Myth of Illuyanka," *JANES* 14 (1982): 11-25.

48. See F. Pecchioli Daddi, "Aspects du culte de la divinité hattite Teteshapi," *Hethitica* 8 (1987): 361-80; F. Pecchioli Daddi and A. M. Polvani, *La mitologia ittita* (Brescia: Paideia Editrice, 1990), 39-55.

Inara's helper and lover in the story, represents the Hittite king.⁴⁹ There was even a role for ecstatic prophets piercing themselves in the course of festivals.⁵⁰

Nor were the ceremonies of Hittite festivals devoid of comic elements. In the monthly festival a cook pours hot coals over the head of the chief of the performers.⁵¹ And in another festival fragment, perhaps belonging to the same festival, the chief of the performers hits the cook on the head three times with a stick.⁵² As the saying goes: "What goes around, comes around!" The king observed all these activities, and as the authorizing and supervising observer, he "offered" this entertainment to the god or gods being worshipped.

The King's Actions

But in addition to his passive participation in the role of donor, supervisor, and observer, the king often took an active part. The festival texts mention several specific actions.

When sacrificial bread is to be offered to the deity, a temple official (often the cup-bearer or the "table man") hands a representative loaf to the king, who breaks it and returns it. The official then places it on the king's behalf on the offering table. Although many times the libating is done by priests, there are occasions in the ritual when the king himself was expected to pour a libation. Often it is into a *huppar*-vessel sitting on the ground. Once we are informed that the king poured libations thirteen times out of a window for a group of deities.⁵³ When the texts occasionally say that the king "offers" (*šipanti*) an animal sacrifice, it does not mean that he physically cuts the animal's throat. The immediate context makes it clear that he merely makes a gesture to authorize its killing. For it is then recorded that others drive the sheep out and cut its throat.⁵⁴

At various points in the course of the festival rituals the king is given a wash bowl, washes his hands, and dries them on a linen towel.⁵⁵ This

action occurs at "seams" or boundaries in the ritual action, the washing being a necessary accompaniment of the passing from one phase to the next. It is ceremonial punctuation.

At other points in the ritual the king performs a gesture with his hand. Its literal translation is "the king places his hand." David Wright has compared this gesture to the expression *samakh yadô* in the Hebrew Bible.⁵⁶ It betokens the king's authorizing a subordinate to perform an act on his behalf. Usually he extends his hand and actually lays it on some object that has been held out to him. But sometimes the text indicates he does it "from a distance" (*tuwaz*).

Although this action is performed in the festivals by others beside the king,⁵⁷ nevertheless occasionally it is said that the king makes a signal with his eyes, to indicate that another person should perform a required action.⁵⁸ It is undoubtedly a gesture performed by a superior to his or her servants who act on his/her authority.

At strategic points in the proceedings the king (and sometimes also the queen) "drank" the deity. A vigorous dispute still exists between those who believe this means that he drank *to* (or *in honor of*) the deity and those who believe he actually imbibed the deity symbolically in the beverage consumed from the cup of the deity.⁵⁹ Since to take sides here and base my observations on only one opinion would make my summary less representative, I shall draw only those inferences that are possible from either interpretation. It has been generally ignored that, even if the drinking does not symbolize a royal imbibing of the deity's essence, no evidence suggests that anyone other than the king and queen did this. It was therefore more than a simple act of honoring the deity. It was an act appropriate only for the royal couple.

The act of *proskynesis* is perhaps the most typical gesture of worship in all religions. The Hittite king performs it regularly in festival descrip-

49. See the summary of this view in F. Pecchioli Daddi and A. M. Polvani, *La mitologia*, 39-48.

50. Which reminds one of the description in the Hebrew Bible of such self-piercing by Canaanite cult practitioners: "Then they cried aloud and, as was their custom, they cut themselves with swords and lances until the blood gushed out over them" (1 Kings 18:28).

51. KUB 60.21:6-7 (CTH 591).
52. KUB 20.11 ii 12-13.
53. LUGAL-uš-kan ^{GIŠ}AB-az arḥa kūš-pat DINGIR.MEŠ-aš 13-ŠU šipanti, KUB 2.13 i 47-48.

54. n-ašta LUGAL-uš 1 UDU ^dŠiwatti ^dKuwanšaya šipanti n-ašta 1 UDU parā pennianzi n-an ḥattanzi, KUB 2.13 ii 53-56.
55. ^{LU}HÜB akugallit KÜ.BABBAR watar pedāi LUGAL-uš-za QĀTI-ŠU arri GAL DUMU É.GAL LUGAL-i GAD-an pāi LUGAL-uš-za QĀTI-ŠU ānši, KUB 2.13 i 8-11.

56. See above in footnote 7.
57. The GAL MEŠEDI signals with his eyes to an army commander in the festival VS 28.29 i 5.

58. LUGAL-uš IGI.HI.A-it iyazi LÜ.MEŠŠU.I=kan daganzipuš šanḥanzi, "The king makes (a signal) with (his) eyes, and the sweepers sweep the floors," KBo 4.9 vi 14-15. This reminds one of Psalm 32:8, where "my eye is upon you" is in strophic parallelism with "and show you which way to go" (so the Jewish Publication Society's translation of the Tanakh). Such a signal would only work if the eyes of the other officials were always on the king's face during the ceremony. Cf. also IBoT 3.29:8-9, where the king signals with his eyes to the cup-bearer.

59. See H. G. Güterbock, "To Drink a God," in XXXIV^{ème} Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (Istanbul: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1998), 121-29; A. Kammenhuber, "Heth. hassus 2-ekuzi 'der König trinkt zwei,'" SMEA 14 (1971): 143-59; H. C. Melchert, "'God-Drinking': A Syntactic Transformation in Hittite," JIES 9 (1981): 245-54; J. Puhvel, "On an Alleged Eucharistic Expression in Hittite Rituals," MIO 5 (1957): 31-33.

tions. The exact posture of Hittite *proskynesis* is still unclear. The verb most commonly used in cult contexts is *aruwai-*, whose Akkadogram is the verb *šukênu(m)*. In non-cultic contexts we find the verbs *haliya-* and *genušsariya-* describing the posture of submission before the Hittite king. The last of these is obviously related to the noun *genu*, "knee" and therefore means "to kneel." A gold figurine from Alaca shows a man in kneeling position with both knees on the ground.⁶⁰

Unlike the "drinking" of the god, *proskynesis* was not an act peculiar to the king. Texts record others performing it to deities⁶¹ and even persons performing it to a superior.⁶² But it so thoroughly epitomizes formal worship that it can be used in a passing remark in an Old Hittite historical text *pars pro toto* to express the entire complex of actions making up formal worship.⁶³ No scene in the graphic art of the Hittites actually shows a king in *proskynesis*. This in spite of the fact that the texts often describe the action as taking place at the altar (*ištanani*), and most scenes of the king or queen worshipping show them standing (not bowing or kneeling) before an altar table. Evidently, although the king actually did bow in the presence of the gods, it was not appropriate to show him on public reliefs in that posture.

It is also remarkable that in the detailed description of the cultic activities of the king at no time is any act of speech or singing attributed to him.

The Cult of the Deceased King

In what sense were Hittite kings conceived as divine? For many scholars the whole subject of divine kingship in Hatti hangs on the idiom for a royal death. The most common way of saying in Hittite that the king or queen had died was "the king became a god." And logically, if the king *became* a god at death, he was not such during his lifetime. But although

the implications of the phrase "he became a god" are relevant, they do not end the discussion. If already during his lifetime the Hittite king had titles, iconography, roles, and prerogatives strongly suggesting deity, in what sense did the Hittites say that at his death he "became" a god?

The usual answer is that he received a cult, not unlike the ordinary cult of the ancestors carried on by private individuals, but on a grander scale. G. Beckman sees the situation as follows: "[The king's becoming a god] is simply an extension of the Hittite view of the power of the dead within a family. Just as the ghost of an ordinary person could cause trouble for survivors if the physical remains had not been properly disposed of . . . , so too could the unhappy spirit of a departed king adversely affect the fortunes of all of Khatti."⁶⁴ The analogy is only partial, and by "extension" Beckman probably means that—unlike the deceased king—the spirits of non-royal dead are not referred to as "gods" when they are mentioned in oracle texts as the cause of trouble to their surviving descendants.

It seems to me that textual evidence suggests several ways in which the king, even during his lifetime, but carrying over to his afterlife, was more like a god than a man.

The King as "My Sun-god"

The most common title of the Hittite king, even more common statistically than the title "king," is the term that lies behind the ubiquitous Sumerogram ^dUTU-ŠI, which has long been known to represent the Akkadian word *šamšī* "my sun-god."⁶⁵ There can be no doubt that the presence of the word "my" in this title indicates its origin and significance as an expression used in *addressing* a deity. The Hittite king was, at the very least, the main channel of the people's communication with the gods, their means of access to deity *par excellence*. In the sequence of royal titles "my sun-god" takes precedence over all other titles, even over the imperial title "great king" so highly prized and jealously guarded by Hittite kings. But when this earthly demi-god was described in festival texts in the act of worshipping, he is never styled "my sun-god," only as "the king" (LUGAL).⁶⁶

60. K. Bittel, *Die Hethiter*, 71, pl. 46.

61. For example, two GUDU₁₄-priests of the city of Arinna (KBo 30.101 ii 1), the Head of the Royal Guard (GAL MEŠEDI, IBoT 1.36 i 23; see H. G. Güterbock and Th. P. J. van den Hout, *The Hittite Instruction for the Royal Bodyguard* [Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1991], 6-7), and even the unnamed worshipper ("lord of the house") in KBo 15.33 + 35 ii 39-42.

62. Subjects before the king in Laws §55, and one ordinary artisan to his patron: *n-ašta* LUNAGAR *išhamanaz katta uizzi n-aš* ANA EN É[-TIM U]ŠKEN, "Then the carpenter descends by the rope and bows to the owner of the house," KUB 55.28 + Bo 7740 iii 17-19.

63. LUGAL-uš URU^uHattuša DINGIR.DIDLI-aš *aruwanzi uet*, "The king returned to Hattusa to worship the gods," KBo 22.2 rev. 13' (Zalpa text, ed. H. Otten, *Eine althethitische Erzählung um die Stadt Zalpa* [Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1973], 12-13).

64. "Royal Ideology and State Administration in Hittite Anatolia," *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, 531.

65. On the titles of the Hittite kings, see H. Gonnet, "La titulature royale hittite au II^e millénaire avant J.-C.," *Hethitica* 3 (1979): 3-108; J. Puhvel, "Hittite Regal Titles: Hattic or Indo-European?" *JIES* 17 (1989): 351-62.

66. V. Haas, *Geschichte*, 196, claims that the royal title identifying the king as *pontifex maximus* is Tabarna. But although this title occurs in annalistic texts and judicial decrees, it is notably absent from the festival descriptions.

And although it is a little risky to assume foreign influences without direct evidence, the very fact that ancient Egypt influenced Hittite monumental sculpture in the form of the huge sphinxes flanking the city gates at Hattuša and Alaca Hüyük, and in the royal aedicle in the form of the winged sun-disk, we may not be far off target to look to Egypt as the ultimate source of the Hittite royal title "my sun-god."

The King as Divinely Appointed Regent

To be sure, the Hittite king was not considered an equal to the gods and goddesses of Hatti, but their representative. A famous Old Hittite text, often quoted in assessments of Hittite kingship, expresses this concept well: "The land belongs only to the storm-god. But he has made the Labarna (the Hittite king) his administrator. . . . Let the Labarna keep administering the whole land with his hand!"⁶⁷ And although this text derives from the Old Kingdom, the faithful re-copying of it in the archives indicates its continuing validity. In New Hittite times, when the chief storm-god was reinterpreted as Teššub, we can see this textual assertion depicted in the scene from Chamber A of Yazılıkaya. King Tudḫaliya IV strikingly resembles King Teššub, but in the final analysis he is not his equal, but his earthly representative and administrator.

The King as Highest Priest

The king represented the gods in several ways. Principally, he functioned as the people's highest priest. One of the emperor's titles was "priest of the sun-goddess of Arinna and all the gods." And in one of Muršili's plague prayers he says to the gods: "I, Muršili, great king, your priest, your servant, am making this prayer to you."⁶⁸ The importance of the priestly title in the royal family is also illustrated by the conferring of the sobriquet "the priest" upon Šuppiluliuma I's son Telipinu, who became appanage king of Aleppo.⁶⁹

The King's Purity

In ancient Israel not only Yahweh but also his priests had to maintain ritual purity, and the high priest in particular. But purity was not imposed

67. See G. Beckman, "Royal Ideology," 530.

68. First Plague Prayer obv. 5-6, edited by A. Götze, "Die Pestgebete des Muršiliš," KIF 1 (1930): 161-251; English translation in W. W. Hallo and K. L. Younger, eds., *Context*, 156-57; and in Singer, *Hittite Prayers*, 61.

69. See T. R. Bryce, "The Role of Telipinu, the Priest, in the Hittite Kingdom," *Hethitica* 11 (1991): 5-18, and *Kingdom*, 203-4.

on the king. In Hatti too priests maintained purity *while on duty* lest they defile the god they served. But the king was required to remain pure *at all times*. As the purity of the gods was jealously guarded, and those who violated it were severely punished, so also was the purity of the king's person. An entire text, quite similar in tone to one dealing with the purity of the gods,⁷⁰ deals with the protection of the king's purity.⁷¹ Kitchen personnel who prepared the king's food had to swear each month that they had not given him impure food. The king's shoemakers were sworn to use only ox hides from the royal kitchen, taken from healthy animals slaughtered according to the rules of purity. The manufacturers of the king's chariot were sworn to use hides derived from the royal kitchen. The dispensers of drinking water to the king were sworn to prevent its contamination by even a single human hair. That violations of purity were not simply sanitation measures⁷² such as might apply to any person may be seen from the king's statement that if a chariot is discovered to have been made from impure hides, "I, the king, will send that abroad or give it to one of my servants."⁷³ In other words, such an "impure" chariot would do no harm to anyone whose purity standards were not as high as the Hittite emperor's. Violators of these sworn precautions were executed.

The King as Judge

In the laws and the instructions to magistrates and other high officials involved in judicial duties it is required that certain serious legal cases be referred to the king's court. But it is significant that offenses that incurred impurity (such as the offense of *hurkel*⁷⁴) were not referred to the king.⁷⁵

70. CTH 264, edited by A. Süel, *Hitit kaynaklarında tapınak görevlileri ile ilgili bir direktif metni* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi, 1985); English translations in *ANET*, 207-10, and in W. W. Hallo and K. L. Younger, eds., *Context*, 217-21.

71. CTH 265, edited by J. Friedrich, "Reinheitsvorschriften für den hethitischen König," in *Altorientalische Studien Bruno Meissner zum 60. Geburtstag gewidmet von Freunden, Kollegen und Schülern* (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1928), 46-58; English translation in *ANET*, 207.

72. A. Ünal, "Ritual Purity versus Physical Impurity in Hittite Anatolia: Public Health and Structures for Sanitation According to Cuneiform Texts and Archaeological Remains," in *Essays on Anatolian Archaeology*, ed. T. Mikasa (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1993), 119-39, tries to make a distinction between precautions against ritual impurity and public sanitation measures. But he does not apply that distinction to the measures taken to guard the king's sanctity.

73. See translation of the Instructions for Palace Personnel (KUB 13.3) in *ANET*, 207.

74. On the nature of this offence, see H. A. Hoffner, Jr., "Incest, Sodomy and Bestiality in the Ancient Near East," in *Orient and Occident. Essays Presented to Cyrus H. Gordon on the Occasion of his Sixty-fifth Birthday*, ed. H. A. Hoffner, Jr. (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1973), 81-90; "Legal and Social Institutions of Hittite Anatolia," in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, 555-70.

75. Law §187. The Hittite Laws have been edited by H. A. Hoffner, *Laws of the Hittites*.

The King as Superhuman

It was believed that the gods had endowed the king with physical qualities far superior to those of ordinary mortals. Thus, in an incantation we read of him: "His body is new; his breast is new; his [head] is new. His [teeth] are those of a lion. [His] eyes are those of an eagle, so that he sees like an eagle."⁷⁶ The king's powers included extraordinary ability to judge difficult legal cases, power to intimidate and defeat his enemies on the battlefield, and protection by the gods against all attacks, whether by arms or by sorcery. A relief in Chamber B of Yazılıkaya shows the king in the protective embrace of his protective deity.⁷⁷ The same scene appears on some royal seals.⁷⁸

Also reflecting the enormous gulf that separated an ordinary person from the king are the words of King Hattušili III in his famous "Apology."⁷⁹ There the king uses a special term that had come into general usage in the royal family only since his father Muršili II's reign, *parā handandatar*. This term, which means something like "divine power" or "divine protection," bespeaks the numinous character of quasi-divinity that the Hittite kings in the Empire period shared only with the gods. The gods showed their *parā handandatar* in spectacular displays of raw power, such as when the storm-god hurled his thunder-bolt at Muršili II's enemy, Uḫḫa-muwa, King of Arzawa, or when Šauška of Šamuḫa defeated emperor Muršili III (Urḫi-Teššub) at the hands of her favorite, Prince Hattušili. But Hattušili also boasts of himself: "Šauška, my lady, seized me by the hand and showed her *parā handandatar* to me," and "because I was a man endowed with *parā handandatar*, and because I walked before the gods in *parā handandatar*, at no time did I ever commit any evil deed (characteristic) of mortals."⁸⁰ And although the sacred per-

English translations include ANET, 188-97, and H. A. Hoffner, Jr., "The Hittite Laws," in M. T. Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, second ed. 1997), 211-47.

76. See KBo 21.22:27-28 and its discussion in A. Archi, "Auguri per il Labarna," in *Studia Mediterranea Piero Meriggi dicata*, ed. O. Carruba (Pavia: Aurora Edizioni, 1979), 27-52.

77. K. Bittel, *Die Hethiter*, fig. 253.

78. H. Gonnert, *Catalogue des documents royaux hittites du II^e millénaire avant J.-C.* (Paris: Éditions du Centre de la Recherche Scientifique, 1975).

79. Edited by H. Otten, *Die Apologie Hattusili III.: Das Bild der Überlieferung* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1981); new English translation by Th. P. J. van den Hout in W. W. Hallo and K. L. Younger, eds., *Context*, 199-204. See also the section dealing with this text in H. A. Hoffner, Jr., "Histories and Historians of the Ancient Near East: The Hittites," *Or* 49 (1980): 283-332.

80. Apology i 46-48, ed. H. Otten, *Apologie*—see preceding note; another English translation is by E. H. Sturtevant and G. Bechtel, *A Hittite Chrestomathy* (Philadelphia: Linguistic Society of America, 1935), 64-83.

son of the king made it necessary for him to be somewhat isolated from the general public, he could and did appear in public on solemn occasions. In this respect he was treated just like the cult images of the gods: they were kept in the privacy of the temple cellas, but brought out for public view at the great festivals.

The King's Afterlife

What Hittite textual evidence we have for the afterlife of mortals suggests a somewhat gloomy existence.⁸¹ And it appears that this kind of afterlife was likely for non-royal persons, the rich as well as the poor. In the royal funerary rites, on the other hand, the king anticipates a very pleasant existence attended by all the accoutrements of a prosperous earthly life: land, cattle, luxury garments, fine food.⁸²

The Cult of Deceased Kings

So far as we know, no cult offerings were made for living kings. But it is clear that deceased royalty—both kings and queens—received regular offerings and were represented in some way by images. When Muwatalli II moved his capital from Hattuša to Tarḫuntašša, he transferred there the cult images of the deceased kings.⁸³ Now it is true that throughout the ancient Near East there is evidence for a cult of deceased ancestors, royal or not. But, at least in Hittite texts, no ghost of an ordinary person is ever called a "god" (*šiu-* or *šiumi-*), but only a "dead one" (*akkanza*). There is surely no way in which one can explain what could be meant by the phrase "became a god" other than in these two prerogatives of deities: an assured afterlife in paradise and a continuing cult.

81. H. A. Hoffner, Jr., "A Scene in the Realm of the Dead," in *A Scientific Humanist: Studies in Memory of Abraham Sachs*, ed. E. Leichty et al. (Philadelphia: University Museum, 1988), 191-99.

82. See the excellent overview by H. Otten, *Hethitische Totenrituale* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1958), 12-17, and the more detailed analysis by V. Haas, *Geschichte*, 216-30, 234-36. Brief summaries in English may be found in O. R. Gurney, *The Hittites* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1990), 137-40; M. Popko, *Religions of Asia Minor* (Warsaw: Academic Publications Dialog, 1995), 154-57; and Bryce, *Life and Society*, 176-77. The texts describing the royal funerary ritual have been edited by A. S. Kassian, A. Korolëv, and A. V. Sidel'tsev, *Hittite Funerary Ritual: šalliš waštaiš* (Münster: Ugarit Verlag, 2002).

83. For a historical analysis of this move see most recently T. R. Bryce, *Kingdom*, 251-55. On the cultic implications, see I. Singer, *Muwatalli's Prayer to the Assembly of Gods Through the Storm-god of Lightning (CTH 381)* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996).

A Divine Being Offering Worship

But how, you ask, is the king's role as celebrant to be reconciled with his superhuman status while alive? How can a superhuman or semi-divine being offer worship? The answer to this can be found in the royal prayer texts and in the mythological literature. The royal prayers show us the king in his role of mediator and the people's means of access to the gods. To be sure, often the king seems to be praying only for his personal needs. See, for example, the prayers of Muršili II about his problems with his mother-in-law Tawananna. But more often the king prays as the embodiment of his people. In a prayer of Hattušili III the king presents requests to deities who are the children and grandchildren of more important gods, and asks them to relay these requests to their parents.⁸⁴ Here we have a clear case of gods praying to other gods. And, if it be granted that the royal petitioner is himself a god, we have a god praying to another god, who is asked to relay that prayer to still other gods. Again, the analogy of Egypt can be invoked. For Egyptian pharaohs, who were considered the divine sons of the sun-god, also offered prayers to their gods.

Furthermore, in the relief at Gâvur Kalesi two male figures wearing short kilts, daggers, and conical horned caps have the same dress as Hattušili III in the Fraktin relief.⁸⁵ The Gâvur Kalesi figures are thought by most to be gods. They stride toward a seated deity, who is probably their superior. They hold their hands up either in greeting or worship or both.

Summary

What can we say then about the royal cult in Hatti? We can say that a cult in the restricted sense of offerings made to the living king as a god appears not to have existed in Hatti during the lifetime of the monarch. As for the cult of deceased kings, we have no textual evidence for the form of the ceremonies, only for the names of the recipients and the identification of the animal sacrifices. And the names of royal recipients of these sacrifices included not only the emperors and empresses, but also the sons of the cadet branch of the family who ruled *appanage* kingdoms rather than succeeding to the imperial throne itself.⁸⁶

84. English translation in *ANET*, 394.

85. K. Bittel, *Die Hethiter*, figs. 199-200.

86. For example, Pimpira, Huzziya the "man of Hakkimš," Kantuzili, Karaḥnuili, Taki-Šarruma, and Šarri-Kušuh King of Carchemish—see H. Otten, "Die hethitischen 'Königslisten' und die altorientalische Chronologie," *MDOG* 83 (1951): 47-51; *Die hethitischen historischen Quellen und die altorientalische Chronologie* (Wiesbaden: Verlag der Akademie der

An indispensable part of any cult is an image to serve as the focus. Peter Neve excavated a relief showing King Tudḫaliya with a horned headdress and reconstructed its probable setting in a temple to that king in the Upper City.⁸⁷ In the Südburg area at Hattuša he cleared a *dromos* with a relief of Šuppiluliuma II at the back with a trench for offerings at his feet.⁸⁸

Kings from Hattušili I on⁸⁹ speak of making images of themselves. Since it is sometimes specified that the image was donated to a deity's temple and set up there, it obviously had some cult function. But this function could have been to serve as the king's surrogate, always at worship before the deity, constantly performing prayers. Statues performed this function in Mesopotamia and in Egypt.

As noted above, no image of a Hittite king has yet been recovered or described in texts that shows him in a posture of kneeling or *proskynesis*. But representations on reliefs and seals show him either standing before the cult statue of a god or before an altar. And a familiar scene of seals and in Chamber B of Yazılıkaya shows the king in the protective embrace of a god, and although this is not worship, strictly speaking, it is the king in intimate concourse with a god.

In summary, the Hittite king not only led worship, but often performed it alone as the principal representative of his people. His physical presence at the major festivals shows that he was the indispensable link in the relationship between the people and their gods. In the course of time his special role, which included wearing garb associated with the sun-god and being shielded from all forms of impurity as a god or high priest would be, may have been extended to the point that he was regarded as a living demi-god. He was never worshipped by the people during his lifetime in the same manner as the well-known gods. But he enjoyed a cult after death. There is no evidence yet that this cult was performed by persons outside the royal family. But if it was more widespread, it was probably because the king was a father figure for the entire nation, and his death was experienced by all as what the texts describe it—"the great catastrophe!"⁹⁰

Wissenschaften und der Literatur zu Mainz, 1968) for a discussion of these sacrificial lists. The texts are listed under CTH 660-61 and CTH Suppl., p. 118.

87. P. Neve, *Hattuša*, 40-41, Abb. 100-4.

88. P. Neve, "Die Ausgrabungen in Boğazköy-Hattuša 1988," *AA* (1989): 271-332, and *Hattuša*, 70-77.

89. *KBo* 10.2 iii 21-22: "So I made this gold image of myself and set it up for the sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady"; and *KBo* 12.38 ii 4-10: "Tudḫaliya did not make this image of my father; I, Šuppiluliyama, great king, king of the Hatti land, made it." See also *ibid.* ii 18-19, and the study of this text by H. G. Güterbock, "The Hittite Conquest of Cyprus Reconsidered," *JNES* 26 (1967): 73-81.

90. Hittite *šalliš waštaš*—see H. Otten, *Totenrituale*, 7-8.