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“My Sun-God”

Reflections of Mesopotamian Conceptions of Kingship among the Hittites*

The founder of the Hittite Empire opens his treaty with a Syrian vassal as follows: “Thus says My Majesty, Šuppiluliuma, Great King, King of Ḫatti, Hero ... ,”¹ making use of a titular that was to remain, with some elaboration, standard for subsequent rulers of Ḫatti.² The initial element here, which I have rendered as “My Majesty,” is a heterogram, ^dUTU^{ŠI}, pronounceable in Akkadian as /*Šamshī*/, but probably spoken by the Great King’s scribes as Hittite /*Istanus //mis*/, literally “My Sun-god.”³ Although the writing is invariable, in discourse it may be applied to the first, second, or third person. By convention, Hittitologists translate this ex-

pression as “My/Your/His Majesty,” respectively. The fact that the monarch refers to himself as ^dUTU^{ŠI} demonstrates that this term belongs to the official ideology of Hittite kingship⁴ and is not simply a piece of flattery from the mouths of subordinates.⁵

Eighty years ago the historian Eduard Meyer suggested that Egyptian influence lay behind the adoption of this title by the Hittites,⁶ and this opinion is still held by some scholars.⁷ However, the earliest attestation of ^dUTU^{ŠI} is in the Middle Hittite treaty of Zidanta II with Piliya of Kizzuwatna (mid-fifteenth century BCE by the middle chronology).⁸ At this time no significant direct contact had yet been

* Abbreviations follow those given in *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, volume R (1999), ix-xxx, and *The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, volume L-N (1989), Fascicle 4, xv-xxviii, and volume P, Fascicle 1 (1994), ix-xi.

¹ For a full translation, see my *Hittite Diplomatic Texts* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996, 1999), 54-58.

² See H. Gonnet, “La titulature royale hittite au II^e millénaire avant J.-C.,” *Hethitica* 3 (1979): 3-108.

³ See H. Th. Bossert, “Meine Sonne,” *Or NS* 26 (1957): 97-126; W. Fauth, “Sonnengottheit (^dUTU) und ‘Königliche Sonne’ (^dUTU^{ŠI}) bei den Hethitern,” *UF* 11 (1979): 227-63; G. Kellerman, “The King and the Sun-god in the Old Hittite Period,” *Tel Aviv* 5 (1978): 199-208.

⁴ See my “Royal Ideology and State Administration in Hittite Anatolia,” in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, ed. J. Sasson et al. (New York: Scribners, 1995), 529-43.

⁵ See the remarks of G. van Driel, drawing on the

work of medievalist H. Wolfram, in his review of M.-J. Seux, *Épithètes*, *BiOr* 26 (1969): 78.

⁶ *Geschichte des Altertums* II/1 (Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta’sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger, 1928), 512.

⁷ E. g., F. Cornelius, “Das hethitische Königtum verglichen mit dem Königtum der sprachverwandten Völker,” *CRRAI* 19 (1971), 323. Cf. G. Szabó, “Herrscher ... bei den Hethitern,” *RIA* IV (1972-75): 343: “Die Frage nach der Entstehung des Titels (ägyptisch, sonstiger Bereich des Vorderen Orients?) ist noch nicht zu beantworten.” The first writer to question this view was F. Sommer, *HAB* 27-29, 72 with n. 3.

⁸ *KUB* 36.108 (CTH 25) obv. 1: ^dUTU^{ŠI} LUGAL.GAL ^mZi-da-an-za LUGAL KUR ^{URU}Ha-[at-ti ...], ed. H. Otten, “Ein althethitischer Vertrag mit Kizzuwatna,” *JCS* 5 (1951): 129-32. Its appearance in the Annals of Ḫattušili I (CTH 4) must be disregarded here since the text in question is known only in copies from the Empire period.

established between Ḫatti and Egypt.⁹ Furthermore, no other aspect of Hittite kingship reveals obvious Egyptian features. It therefore seems prudent to seek models for the epithet ^dUTU^{ŠI} closer to the Hittite homeland.

Unfortunately, we know next to nothing of the prehistory of Hittite kingship. The Old Assyrian letters and business documents from the *kārum*, or "trading colony," at Kültepe/Kaniš (nineteenth and eighteenth centuries) provide few details concerning the local princes.¹⁰ And it remains uncertain whether Anitta of Kuššar, the sole contemporary Anatolian king to have left a record of his deeds and gods,¹¹ should be considered a direct forerunner of the later Hittite royal family.¹² We may reasonably suppose that, like early Hittite religion,¹³ Hittite monarchy as an institution combined features from the inherited Indo-European culture of the Hittite invaders with

elements borrowed from the indigenous Hattic civilization encountered in Anatolia.¹⁴ Reconstructions of conceptions of rule in proto-Indo-European society, uncertain as they necessarily are,¹⁵ do not identify the king with the Sun-god or with any other particular deity.¹⁶ On the other hand, *if* the third-millennium tombs at Alaca Höyük were constructed for kings,¹⁷ and *if* their occupants were Hattians,¹⁸ and *if* the "standards" found in them present solar symbols,¹⁹ we might have some evidence for an association of Hattic monarchy with the sun. All of this is obviously extremely uncertain.

When we turn to the south, we can observe that in the eighteenth-century archives of the city of Mari on the Euphrates in southeast Syria, king Zimri-Lim is addressed in several letter salutations as *kakkabī*, "My Star,"²⁰ and that on at least one occasion he is apostrophized as *Šamšī*,²¹ "My Sun(-god)."²² These

⁹ See K. Bittel, "The Hittite Empire and Egypt in the Light of the Excavations and Archives of Boğazköy," *Hattusha. The Capital of the Hittites* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1970), 113-31.

¹⁰ On this material, see L. L. Orlin, *Assyrian Colonies in Cappadocia* (The Hague: Mouton, 1970), 73-113; and M. Larsen, "The City and its King," in *Le palais et la royauté*, ed. P. Garelli (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1974), 285-300.

¹¹ This document has been edited by E. Neu, *Der Anitta-Text*. StBoT 18 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1974).

¹² See T. Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 38. For further literature on this question, see H. Klengel, *Geschichte des Hethitischen Reiches* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 27 n. 48.

¹³ See J. Klinger, *Untersuchungen zur Rekonstruktion der hattischen Kultschicht*. StBoT 37 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1996).

¹⁴ Several key terms referring to aspects of the Hittite monarchy, namely *L/Tabarna*, *Tawananna*, and *tuhukanti-*, were borrowed from this source. Cf. J. Puhvel, "Hittite Royal Titles: Hattic or Indo-European?" *JIES* 17 (1989): 351-61.

¹⁵ See J. P. Mallory, *In Search of the Indo-Europeans* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1989), 125.

¹⁶ See Th. V. Gamkrelidze and V. V. Ivanov, *Indo-European and the Indo-Europeans. A Reconstruction and Historical Analysis of a Proto-Language and a*

Proto-Culture I (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1995), 653-55.

¹⁷ Only the extravagant contents of the graves have led archaeologists to apply the designation "royal." While those laid to rest in these tombs were undoubtedly important persons within their society, there is no certainty that they were kings and queens.

¹⁸ See the brief comments of E. Akurgal, "Are the Ritual Standards of Alacahöyük Royal Symbols of the Hattian or the Hittite Kings?" *FsTÖzgiç*, 1-2.

¹⁹ So J. Börker-Klähn and J. Krafzik, "Zur Bedeutung der Aufsätze aus Alaca Höyük," *WO* 17 (1986): 47-60. Cf. also V. Haas, *Geschichte der Hethitischen Religion* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 69-70.

²⁰ See *CAD* K, 47, and earlier W. Moran, "New Evidence from Mari on the History of Prophecy," *Biblica* 50 (1969): 33. Moran notes that the correspondents in question all seem to be members of Zimri-Lim's immediate family and suggests that "My Star" was perhaps a "term of affection."

²¹ *ARM* 10.99: 5-6. The identification of the ruler here as Zimri-Lim is not entirely certain.

²² Strictly speaking, *šamšī* is a suffixed form of the common noun *šamšum*, "sun (as a celestial body)," but since it is impossible to affix a genitive pronoun to the absolute noun *Šamaš* indicating the divine name, it is quite possible that the deity is nonetheless intended in such names.

usages clearly do not constitute official royal epithets, but they nonetheless demonstrate that astral and solar appellations could be employed as respectful forms of address to a human superior. Similarly, personal names like Šamšī-Adad, meaning "My Sun is the Storm-god,"²³ Aššur-šamšī, "Aššur is My Sun," or even Ummī-šamšī, "My Mother is My Sun,"²⁴ utilize the solar reference as a token of reverence.

Mesopotamian rulers are also on occasion equated with the Sun-god.²⁵ For instance, the semi-legendary Enmerkar of Uruk is called "the Sun-god of the land" (^dUtu kalam-ma-ka),²⁶ while Rīm-Sîn I of Larsa is named "mighty king, Sun-god of his land" (lugal-kala-ga ^dUtu kalam-ma-na).²⁷ The seal of the Hurrian lord Talpuš-atili of Nagar bears the title "Sun-god of the land" (^dUTU *māti*),²⁸ and Ḥammurapi as well as several neo-Assyrian kings are each referred to as "the Sun-god of his people" (*Šamaš nišēšū*).²⁹

I, the king, from the womb I am a hero,
I, Šulgi, from my birth I am a mighty man:
I am a fierce-faced lion, begotten by a dragon,

A more typical relationship between a monarch and the gods in Mesopotamia, however, is presented in the scene carved on the upper portion of the stele bearing Ḥammurapi's "Law Code."³⁰ Here the king holds his hand to his face in a gesture of obeisance, while the seated Šamaš, whose cap is marked by the horns that indicate divinity in ancient Near Eastern iconography,³¹ hands over to him the "rod and the ring" symbolic of royal office.³² In Sumer, Babylonia, or Assyria, the monarch held his office in trust for the deity or deities who were in theory the proprietors of each state. It was at their initiative that a human ruler was created, raised, and elevated to this honor and duty. In the third millennium this tutelage was often expressed through the language of familial relations.³³

All of these aspects of divine patronage are evident in the following excerpt from a hymn in praise of king Šulgi of the Ur III dynasty (twenty-first century):

²³ Name of the founder of the Old Babylonian "Kingdom of Northern Mesopotamia," as well as of four later Assyrian monarchs.

²⁴ For references for the latter two names, see *CAD* Š/I, 337.

²⁵ See J. Polansky, "ki-^dutu-è-a: Where Destiny is Determined," in *Landscapes. Territories, Frontiers and Horizons in the Ancient Near East*, ed. L. Milano et al. (Padua: Sargon srl, 2000), part III, 99; and cf. R. Labat, *Le caractère religieux de la royauté assyrienne* (Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1939), 231-33.

²⁶ Lines 309-10, which present a nice collocation of the divine and royal "suns." This passage is rendered by Th. Jacobsen, *The Harps that Once ... Sumerian Poetry in Translation* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1987), 300 as "The day dawned / and unto Utu, / who had risen, / it made the country's / "Utu," (the king) / lift up the head."

²⁷ *UET* 6/1, 91:8.

²⁸ D. Matthews and J. Eidem, "Tell Brak and Nagar," *Iraq* 55 (1993): 202.

²⁹ For references see *CAD* Š/I 337. See also M. Ar-neth, "'Möge Šamaš dich in das Hirtenamt über die vier Weltgegenden einsetzen.' Der 'Kronungshymnus Assurbanipals' (SAA III, 11) und die Solarisierung des neuassyrischen Königtums," *Zeitschrift für Alt-orientalische und Biblische Rechtsgeschichte* 5 (1999): 28-53.

³⁰ Pictured in most general works on Mesopotamian art, e.g., Henri Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1969 [1954]), pl. 65.

³¹ See J. Black and A. Green, *Gods, Demons and Symbols of Ancient Mesopotamia* (Austin: Univ. of Texas Press, 1992), 102-3, "horned cap."

³² See Th. Jacobsen, "Pictures and Pictorial Language (The Burney Relief)," in *Figurative Language in the Ancient Near East* (London: SOAS, 1987), 4.

³³ See J. Klein, "Sumerian Kingship and the Gods," in *Text, Artifact, and Image. Revealing Ancient Israelite Religion*, ed. G. Beckman and T. J. Lewis (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, forthcoming).

I am the king of the four regions,
 I am a shepherd, the pastor of the black-headed [people],
 I am the noble one, the god of all the lands,
 I am the child born of the goddess Ninsun,
 I am the choice of the holy heart of An, god of Heaven,
 I am the man whose fate was decreed by the god Enlil,
 I am Šulgi, the beloved of the goddess Ninlil,
 I am he who was nursed by the goddess Nintu,
 I am the one endowed with wisdom by the god Enki ...³⁴

It is probably his patronage of one of the king's primary areas of responsibility, that of justice, that accounts for the prominent role played by the Sun-god in the investiture of Ḫammurapi.³⁵ In the prologue to the inscription on his stele of the "Law Code," Ḫammurapi claims that he has been designated "to rise *like* the sun-god Shamash over all humankind, to illuminate the land."³⁶ The comparison of the ruler with the god here is a simile and not an equation. This suggests that the solar characterizations of the Mesopotamian king cited earlier are also to be regarded as metaphorical.

In Ḫatti, however, the association of the king with the sun went well beyond metaphor to quasi-identification. In addition to the title ^dUTU^{ŠI} with which we began our discussion, this is shown by reliefs on the walls of the rock sanctuary

of Yazılıkaya just outside the Hittite capital city of Boğazköy/Ḫattuša.³⁷ Here king Tudḫaliya IV of the second half of the thirteenth century, patron of the shrine, is depicted in his royal "priestly" outfit: long robe, skull-cap, and earrings.³⁸ He stands upon a pair of peaks,³⁹ probably indicating his association with the divine mountain from which he had taken his name,⁴⁰ and he holds this name out before himself in the form of Hittite hieroglyphs.⁴¹ In the procession of gods at the same site, the Sun-god is dressed exactly like the monarch.⁴² As H. G. Güterbock has pointed out,⁴³ only the presence of the winged disk above his head distinguishes the deity from the king.

In parallel fashion, the chief wife of the Hittite king was associated with a solar figure, the Sun-goddess of the city of Arinna,⁴⁴ at least to the extent that

³⁴ "Šulgi, King of the Road," lines 1-12; translation adapted from J. Klein, *Three Šulgi Hymns* (Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan Univ. Press, 1981), 85.

³⁵ Perhaps the connection of the Sun-god with monarchy is the key to the explanation of the obscure origin (so D. Edzard, "Herrscher," *RIA* IV [1972-75]: 329-30) of the logogram LUGÁL (MAN) = *šarru*. Twenty, after all, is the numerical representation of Šamaš (W. Röllig, "Götterzahlen," *RIA* III [1957-71]: 499; R. Borger, *AbZ*, No. 471). See also S. Parpola, "Monotheism in Ancient Assyria," in *One God or Many? Concepts of Divinity in the Ancient World*, ed. B. N. Porter (Chebeague Island, Me.: Casco Bay Assyriological Institute, 2000), 177.

³⁶ *kīma Šamaš ana šalimāt qaqqadim wašê // ma mātīm nuwurrim*, from i 27-49, tr. M. Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 76-77.

³⁷ For a complete description of this site, see Bittel, *Yaz²*.

³⁸ K. Bittel, *Hethiter*, 214, plt. 249. See A. Goetze,

"The Priestly Dress of the Hittite King," *JCS* 1 (1947): 176-85.

³⁹ Mountains may also be rendered as anthropomorphic figures in scaled skirts – see R. Alexander, "The Tyskiewicz Group of Stamp-Cylinders," *Anatolica* 5 (1973-76): 159 and n. 83.

⁴⁰ For attestations of this oronym, see G. F. del Monte, *RGCT* 6, 446.

⁴¹ Mount Tudḫaliya, clad in a skirt with scales, appears as an ideographic element in the king's name here.

⁴² K. Bittel, *Hethiter*, 205, plt. 234.

⁴³ "Sungod or King?" in *Aspects of Art and Iconography: Anatolia and its Neighbors*, ed. M. J. Mellink, et al. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1993), 225-26.

⁴⁴ As revealed in the texts, the character of this deity was basically chthonic, but she must have had some solar qualities if the Hittite scribes chose to indicate her in writing by means of the ideogram ^dUTU. See V. Haas, *Religion*, 423-26.

each deceased queen was represented in a temple by an image of this deity.⁴⁵ I do not want to give the impression, however, that Hittite royalty normally enjoyed deification during their lifetimes. The very fact that members of the royal family were said "to become a god" upon death⁴⁶ indicates that up until that moment they had been mere mortals. The offerings that royal personages received from their descendants were simply a more sumptuous manifestation of the post-mortem sustenance owed by every Hittite family to its ancestors. Departed Hittite monarchs were traditionally the recipients neither of true worship nor of prayers.

We have evidence in our sources for true deification only in the cases of two of the last Hittite kings, Tudḫaliya IV and his son Šuppiluliuma II,⁴⁷ whose claims to the throne were questioned from some quarters.⁴⁸ One indication of this elevation to genuine divine status is an image of Šuppiluliuma on a relief slab recently recovered in Ḫattuša.⁴⁹ Here the monarch appears in his alternate, "warrior" costume, wearing but a kilt and shouldering a bow. He has also, however, been allotted the horns of divinity. It is extremely unlikely that this relief was created at the command of a successor after the ruler depicted had died, for Šuppiluliuma II was almost certainly the

final ruler to sit upon the throne of Ḫatti. Circumstances thus indicate that divination of the living Hittite king was a late and exceptional measure taken from weakness rather than from strength, and for political rather than primarily religious motives.⁵⁰

Indeed, the Hittite monarch, like the ruler in contemporary Mesopotamia, was the regent of his nation's patron gods. His stewardship took the form of the priesthood of the Storm-god and of the Sun-goddess of Arinna. The king's position as deputy is made crystal clear in the following blessing spoken by a priest on his behalf:

May the Tabarna, the king, be dear to the gods! The land belongs to the Storm-god alone. Heaven, earth, and the people belong to the Storm-god alone. He has made the Labarna, the king, his administrator and given him the entire land of Ḫatti. The Labarna shall continue to administer the entire land with his hand. May the Storm-god destroy whoever should approach the person of the Labarna, [the king], and the borders (of Ḫatti)!⁵¹

Note also the invocation of the gods in a prayer of king Muwattalli II of the fourteenth century:

Divine lords – Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, and all the gods of the Land of Ḫatti, (my) lords – whose priest I am, who have conferred upon me, from

⁴⁵ ^dUTU ^{URU}TÚL-na ŠA ^fWa-la-an-[ni], etc., *KUB* 25.14 (*CTH* 626) i 25-30, transliterated by S. R. Bin-Nun, *THeth* 5, 199.

⁴⁶ *DINGIR-LIM kiš-*. See H. Otten, *HTR*, 119-20.

⁴⁷ See Th. P. J. van den Hout, "Tudḫaliya IV. und die Ikonographie hethitischer Großkönige des 13. Jhs." *BiOr* 52 (1995): 545-73.

⁴⁸ The father of Tudḫaliya, Ḫattušili III, was a usurper who had displaced his own nephew. Descendants of the latter continued to pose a danger to the line of Ḫattušili throughout the remaining years of Hittite history. See H. Klengel, *Geschichte*, 258-59, 290, 306-8.

⁴⁹ Peter Neve, *Ḫattuša. Stadt der Götter und Tempel* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1993), 76, Abb. 214; and Th. P. J. van den Hout, *BiOr* 52 (1995): 550, Abb. 3.

⁵⁰ Compare the earlier divinization of Narām-Sîn of Akkad, a measure that may well have been taken in order to facilitate the integration of formerly independent city-states into a regional empire. See W. W. Hallo and W. K. Simpson, *The Ancient Near East. A History*. Second ed. (Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace, 1998), 57-58.

⁵¹ *IBoT* 1.30 (*CTH* 821): 2-8, transliterated by A. Archi, "Auguri per il Labarna," *FsMeriggi*², 31-32.

(among) all (others), the rulership over Ḫatti.⁵²

Later in the same text, the king appeals to his personal deity, the Storm-god of Lightning, as follows:

Storm-God of Lightning, my lord, I was but a mortal, (whereas) my father was a priest of the Sun-goddess of Arinna and of all the gods. My father begat me, but the Storm-god of Lightning took me from (my) mother and reared me; he made me priest of the Sun-goddess of Arinna and of all the gods; for the land of Ḫatti he appointed me to kingship. So now I, Muwattalli the king, who have been reared by you, by the Storm-god of Lightning, am pleading ...⁵³

Here we may recognize the themes of divine election and nurture of the king, similar to motifs we encountered earlier in the passage from the hymn of Šulgi. Although Muwattalli does not boast of divine descent, as had the Sumerian ruler, in another passage an unnamed Hittite king calls the Storm-god his "father."⁵⁴

Let us now return to the image of Tudḫaliya IV in his "priestly" garments. In this mode of depiction, the ruler carries not a weapon but the curved staff known to the Hittites as a *kalmuš*. This object, which is without doubt to be identified as a shepherd's crook,⁵⁵ was an

emblem of royal office.⁵⁶ It signified the king's role as shepherd of his people. Mesopotamian monarchs could also be distinguished by a herdsman's staff, and as early as pre-Sargonic times kings were awarded the title "shepherd."⁵⁷ Indeed, "shepherd" was the most common epithet of the Kassite rulers contemporary with the kings of Ḫatti.⁵⁸

Also of interest in this connection is Tudḫaliya's gown, whose antecedents seem to lie in the so-called "open wrap-around garment" (*offenes Wickelgewand*) known in Mesopotamia during the late third and early second millennia.⁵⁹ A possible north Syrian intermediary might be seen in the clothing of Idrimi of Alalakh as depicted in his seated statue of the fifteenth century.

I now recall the Hittite royal titulary with which I began. The king styles himself "My Majesty, Šuppiluliuma, Great King, King of Ḫatti, Hero." The final element here is the Sumerogram UR.SAG, equivalent to Akkadian *QAR-RĀDU*, and read in Hittite as *ḫaštali*-.⁶⁰ This epithet is first attested in Mesopotamia for the Sargonic king Šar-kali-šarrī, and is later borne by Ḫammurapi and Samsuiluna of the Old Babylonian period.⁶¹ As far as I am aware, the designation "Hero" is not employed by the Egyptian pharaoh.⁶²

⁵² CTH 381 i 17-19, translated by I. Singer, *Muwattalli's Prayer to the Assembly of Gods Through the Storm-God of Lightning* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 31.

⁵³ CTH 381, iii 25-33, slightly modified from the translation by Singer, *Muwattalli's Prayer*, 40.

⁵⁴ KUB 29.1 (CTH 414) i 26: *nu EGIR-pa ad-da-aš^{sic}-ma-an dU-an wa-al-lu-uš-ki-mi*, "Then afterward I will praise repeatedly my father, the Storm-god."

⁵⁵ See my "Herding and Herdsmen in Hittite Culture," in *Documentum Asiae Minoris Antiquae*, ed. E. Neu and C. Rüster (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1988), 42-44.

⁵⁶ Sumerian *šibir*, Akkadian *šibirru*. See CAD Š/II, 377-78.

⁵⁷ First attested for Lugalzagesi – see M.-J. Seux, "Königtum. B. II. und I. Jahrtausend," *RIA* VI (1980-83): 162-63, §75.

⁵⁸ See M.-J. Seux, *Épithètes*, 310-11; and J. A. Brinkman, "The Monarchy of the Kassite Period," in *Le palais et la royauté*, 405.

⁵⁹ See K. Bittel, *Yaz.*, 120; and E. Strommenger, "Herrscher. B. In der Bildkunst," *RIA* IV (1972-75): 351.

⁶⁰ J. Puhvel, *HED* 3, 235-36.

⁶¹ See CAD Q, 142-43.0

⁶² According to CAD Q, 142-43, the Egyptian ruler is called *qarrādu* only in the Ḫattušili-Ramses treaty, where the use of the epithet is certainly due to Hittite influence.

By now the thrust of my argument should be clear. Hittite royal ideology resembles that of Mesopotamia in numerous respects: in epithets of the king, in the subordinate but intimate relationship of the monarch to the patron deities of the state, in the role that the king plays within human society, and even in his costume. Given the influence that the venerable civilization of the south exercised in other areas of Hittite elite culture,⁶³ there can be little doubt that Hittite kingship owed much to Mesopotamian forerunners. In further support of this argument we may recall that Hittite monarchs made explicit use of the Old Akkadian rulers Sargon and Narām-Sîn as positive and negative exemplars, whose deeds were to be emulated or avoided, respectively.⁶⁴

Finally, it is surely significant that the expression giving rise to my discussion, "My Sun-god," is without exception expressed in Hittite texts by means of the compound Sumerographic/Akkadographic form ^dUTU^{SI}.⁶⁵

I am not claiming that Hittite kingship was a mere imitation of the Mesopotamian institution. There were a number of important differences between the two structures of domination,⁶⁶ including the deference that the monarch in Ḫatti had to show to the assembly of noblemen,⁶⁷ and the freedom that the Hittite king enjoyed in choosing his successor from among a group of eligible candidates.⁶⁸ Nonetheless, I believe that I have demonstrated that Mesopotamian influence on Hittite kingship was considerable.

⁶³ See my "Mesopotamians and Mesopotamian Learning at Ḫattuša," *JCS* 35 (1983): 97-114.

⁶⁴ See my "Sargon and Naram-Sin in Ḫatti: Reflections of Mesopotamian Antiquity among the Hittites," in *Die Gegenwart des Altertums. Formen und Funktionen des Altertumsbezugs in den Hochkulturen der Alten Welt*, ed. D. Kuhn and H. Stahl (Heidelberg: Edition Forum, 2001), 85-91; and M. Van De Mieroop, "Sargon of Agade and his Successors in Anatolia," *SMEA* 42 (2000): 133-59.

⁶⁵ On the rare forms with phonetic complementation in *-i-*, which demonstrate that the term was actually pronounced in Hittite, see O. Carruba, "Die Hajasaverträge Hattis," *FsOtten*², 73 n. 29.

⁶⁶ See F. Starke, "Halmašuit im Anitta-Text und die

hethitische Ideologie vom Königtum," *ZA* 69 (1979): 47-120.

⁶⁷ See my "The Hittite Assembly," *JAOS* 102 (1982): 435-42. Even though I argue there that the king's power was essentially independent of this body, the *panku* could nonetheless be convened to judge murderous members of the royal clan and to look after an underage successor to the throne. No comparable role is apparent for the *puḫru* in contemporary Babylonia or Assyria.

⁶⁸ See my "Inheritance and Royal Succession among the Hittites," in *Kaniššuwār. A Tribute to Hans H. Güterbock on His Seventy-Fifth Birthday, May 27, 1983*, ed. H. A. Hoffner, Jr. and G. Beckman (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1986), 13-31.