

IS THE SMALL GOD FIGURE IN THE SEAL IMPRESSION OF TUDKHALIYA IV, RS 17.159, MURSHILI II?

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Abstract

The small god figure, embraced in the embrace scene of the Ugarit seal impression is neither Khattushili III nor a local ruler nor Tudkhaliya IV himself, the owner of the seal, but it should be his grandfather Murshili II deified after death. D U NIR.GAL is the protective god of Murshili II, Arnuwanda II and Shuppiluliuma I who are the ancestors of Tudkhaliya IV. Murshili II is mentioned in the cuneiform writing that borders the subject seal impression. Therefore the small god figure should be representing Murshili II. The written documents tell that also ancestral gods protect the kings. This explains the reason why the dead kings appear in god iconography on the seals. This small god figure and the like prove the existence of a certain Hittite king iconography of kings deified after death in the Hittite art.

The seal impression of Tudkhaliya IV (Fig. 1a), uncovered from Ras Shamra (Ugarit), is on a tablet that relates the divorce decree of Ammistamru, the King of Ugarit, and the daughter of Bentesina, the king of Amurru¹. The poorly preserved cuneiform writing of two lines that borders the circular seal impression narrates the ancestry of Tudkhaliya IV² as follows: The seal of Tudkhaliya, the great king; the grandson of Murshili, the great king, the hero; the son of Pudukhepa, the

great queen of Khatti and Khattushili, the great king of Khatti, the hero.

A winged sun disk with the double disks crowns the whole composition. Under the winged sun disk the name and the title of the owner of the seal appear in three lines, starting with the top as follows: The first line reads³ “Tudkhaliya, labarna, the great king”, the second line reads⁴ “Tashmi Sharruma, the great king”, and the third line, again, reads

¹ Schaeffer 1956, 14, 16-20, 111ff, Fig. 24-26, Pl. III, IV.

² Schaeffer 1956, 14, 16, Fig. 25.

³ Alp 1998, 21; Van den Hout 1995, 558; Schaeffer 1956, 112ff.

⁴ Alp 1998, 21-4.

“Tudkhaliya, labarna, the great king” between two life signs⁵.

In line with the first and the second lines, above, a woman figure appears at the left side and an embracing scene of two male figures appear at the right side. Because of the hieroglyphic inscription with the woman figure she is thought to be a Sun Goddess⁶ (probably the Sun Goddess of Arinna⁷).

Both figures in the above embracement scene are depicted in the god iconography whereas the embraced are always the kings in power as it is widely known with the cases of Tudkhaliya IV⁸ in relief 81 at Yazılıkaya, and Muwatalli II⁹ and Murshili III¹⁰ in the aedicula seals.

The hieroglyphic inscription shows that the embracing god figure is ^DU NIR.GAL, the mighty storm god¹¹. The storm god embraces the small god and holds the mace on the shoulder with the left hand. The small god figure has only the lance resting on the left shoulder (Fig. 1b).

Up to date the short god figure is identified by different titles such as a local ruler¹², Tudkhaliya IV¹³ or Khattushili III¹⁴, the father of Tudkhaliya IV. This small god figure is considered to be Tudkhaliya IV due to the reason that in the seal impression it is the only figure without any identification inscription.

The most important element in the determination of the identity of the small god figure, should be the fact that it is ^DU NIR.GAL that embraces him.

The protective god of Tudkhaliya IV is god Sharruma, whom he is depicted with in the embracing scene on relief number 81 at Yazılıkaya¹⁵. The protective divinities of Khattushili III, the father of Tudkhaliya IV are the Sun Goddess of Arinna, Storm God of Nerik and Ishtar of Samuha. The small god can not be Tudkhaliya IV or Khattushili III if it is considered that the embracing god is ^DU NIR.GAL. According to the written documents ^DU NIR.GAL is the protective god of Murshili II, Arnuwanda II and Shuppiluliuma I who are the ancestors of Tudkhaliya IV¹⁶. The small god figure should be one of these ancestor kings of Tudkhaliya IV, who are deified after death.

Tudkhaliya IV has, mostly, mentioned of his father Khattushili III, his grandfather, Murshili II and his grand grandfather

⁵ According to Börker Klähn – Börker (1976, 32) the signs mean ‘life for Tudkhaliya’

⁶ Schaeffer 1956, 17, 114 ff.

⁷ Alp 1998, 21; Alp 2001, 173.

⁸ Bittel et al. 1975, Taf. 62.

⁹ Beran 1967, Taf. 12, 250a, 251a, 252a, Neve 1991, Abb. 28a, 30a; Gonnet 1990, Lev. I.

¹⁰ Neve 1991, Abb. 29a; Alp 2001, 174.

¹¹ Börker Klähn – Börker (1976, Abb. 32 n. 102, 107, 114) indicate that the sign of the Weather God in the picture seems in the form of a triangle, and accordingly a new drawing of the seal impression is made. The hieroglyphic inscription of the Storm God reads as follows: ^DNIR.GAL= the Weather God of the Kingdom (Börker Klähn and Börker 1976, 34); the Mighty Storm God (DEUS) TONITRUS FORTIS (Van den Hout 1995a, 558); the Weather God, the Warrior (Alp 1998, 21) and the Mighty (the heroic) Storm God = ^DU NIR.GAL (Alp 2001, 173).

¹² Börker Klähn – Börker 1976, 22, 32.

¹³ Schaeffer 1956, 16-17, 112; Akurgal 1964, 98; Hawkins 1990, 311-312 n. 48; Hawkins 1995, 19; Van den Hout 1995a, 558, n. 63; Alp 1998, 21; Alp 2001, 173; Savaş 2002, 118, n. 112.

¹⁴ Mayer Opificius 1989, 362.

¹⁵ Bittel et al. 1975, Taf. 62.

¹⁶ I thank Prof. Dr. Ahmet Ünal for his helps regarding the protective gods of the Hittite kings

Shuppiluliuma¹⁷. Khattushili III and Murshili II are also mentioned in the cuneiform writing that borders the subject seal impression. However ^D U NIR.GAL is the protective god of Murshili II but not of Khattushili III. Therefore the small god figure should be representing Murshili II. ^D U NIR.GAL is mentioned together with the Sun Goddess of Arinna in the Annals of Murshili II¹⁸. The depiction of these two divinities on subject seal impression is in support of the above determination.

In the Hittite Art there are also other king and prince depictions that look like this small god figure. In spite of the fact that these king and prince figures have similar features they are either qualified as those in power or as those that are deified in life or after death.

The dressing of these figures looks more like those of the Hittite gods¹⁹ rather than the warrior uniform²⁰ of the king in the texts related with the cult. It may be concluded that the pointed hat was worn by both the kings and the gods since Khattushili III is depicted with the pointed hat at Abu Simbel²¹. However the lack of the horn with the hat is important. Because the most important divinity sign is the horned hat in both Anatolia and Mesopotamia²². Therefore these figures should be the figures of the kings and princes deified after death, but not of those in life. As to the kings deified while in life, they

are depicted as the figure in relief number 34 at Yazılıkaya²³.

Until recent times there was no knowledge of any document from Anatolia relating to king cult deified while in life as it was in Mesopotamia. Whereas in Mesopotamia the kings have used god name or god determinative since Akkadian Period²⁴. In the Victory Stele of Naram-Sin, the King of Agade, the king is depicted as a god with the horned hat²⁵. Hittite kings did not use any god determinative, but they have used the title of ^dUTU²⁶.

The saying "Have him, offer me drink (pour libation to me), my sun, the great king labarna Tudkhaliya, at virgin place ..." in the Emirgazi inscriptions²⁷ is an evidence of the fact that the Hittite kings in life have transformed themselves into cult objects.

This document points out the fact that an image of Tudkhaliya IV, deified while in life, may be somewhere. Akurgal²⁸ is in the opinion that Tudkhaliya IV was deified while in life, and that his missing deified statue²⁹ was on the unoccupied base in Room B at Yazılıkaya. According to Bittel³⁰ the subject statue should belong to some earlier king since there is no specific information. Shuppiluliuma II reports that he erected and "placated" an image of Tudkhaliya in É^{NA4}hekur³¹. As to Kohlmeyer, he states that the missing

¹⁷ Van den Hout (1995a, 557) provides the related listing.

¹⁸ Schaffer 1956, 115-116. Götze 1933, 22-23, 32-33.

¹⁹ Steiner 1957, 549.

²⁰ Van den Hout 1995a, 554.

²¹ Macquoen 1986, 50, Fig. 26.

²² Boehmer 1972-75, 431ff.

²³ Ensert 2005a; 2005b.

²⁴ Seux 1980-83, 170ff.

²⁵ Boehmer 1972-1975, 431ff.

²⁶ Bossert 1957, 101-102; Gonnet Bağana 1969, 163.

²⁷ Van den Hout 1995a, 561-564.

²⁸ Akurgal 1964, 98.

²⁹ See Neve 1989, 350-51, Fig. 3.

³⁰ Bittel 1964, 127, n. 4.

³¹ Kohlmeyer 1995, 2651.

statue in Room B of Yazılıkaya is the statue of Tudkhaliya IV deified after death³². As of this date neither the iconographic features³³ of the missing statue are known nor it is certain that there was such a statue there at some time.

Presently there are two images of Tudkhaliya IV that are confirmed by inscriptions: Tudkhaliya IV is depicted in the king iconography³⁴ with the cap, the long mantel and the lituus in reliefs 64³⁵ and 81³⁶ at Yazılıkaya. Tudkhaliya IV Relief, number 64 which is the largest image in Room A of Yazılıkaya with a height of 2.63 meters, should be aimed to impress the people visiting the cella. Here, in room A, Tudkhaliya IV is identified as deified after death³⁷. Although the statement of Khattushili III, reading³⁸ “When my grandfather Shuppiluliuma arrived at the mountain” indicates that the new dwelling of a dead king is on a mountain, it should also be considered that the mountains are a part of the Sun God iconography. The posture of Tudkhaliya IV on two mountain-like elevations, is in agreement with the “^DUTU^{SB}” title of the Hittite kings. As in the case with the royal seals, the identity inscription of Tudkhaliya IV is crowned by the winged sun disk and the labarna (hero) signs appear among his titles. Therefore Tudkhaliya IV should have been depicted

here as a king in power³⁹ with the title “^DUTU^{SB}”.

Van den Hout explains the depictions of Tudkhaliya IV as follows⁴⁰: In relief 64 with the Sun God dressing he is the supreme judge and in the seal impression from Ugarit with the Storm God dressing he is the supreme warrior. There is no symbol or inscription regarding as to who is the subject small god figure from Ugarit except the fact that he is in the Hittite god dressing. As also many scholars do, Van den Hout⁴¹ agrees that the Hittite kings were depicted with horny hats only when they were deified after death.

A depiction of Tudkhaliya (?), dressed as the Hittite gods, is on the stele of House (chapel)-a, at Boğazköy⁴². The king wears a pointed hat with five pairs of horn, a short skirt and a pair of shoes with the upturned toes and holds a lance resting on the right shoulder (Fig. 3). The hieroglyphic inscription above the left hand of the figure shows that he is “Great King Tudkhaliya”⁴³. The inscription neither includes the winged sun disk nor the labarna (hero) title. It is considered that the figure is Tudkhaliya I⁴⁴, or Tudkhaliya

³² Kohlmeyer 1995, 2651.

³³ Neve (1989, 351, Fig. 3) formed a mental picture of the statue and drew it.

³⁴ The mortal, deified while in life, was not allowed to have himself depicted with the horned hat and in god dress (Boehmer 1972-75, 431-432).

³⁵ Bittel et al. 1975, 155-157, Taf. 60.

³⁶ Bittel et al. 1975, Taf. 62.

³⁷ Bossert 1957, 97-98; Akurgal 1995, Şek. 45.

³⁸ Haas 1994, 216.

³⁹ Neve (1992, 85), is in the opinion that the Hittite kings are not deified only after death but also while in life.

⁴⁰ Van den Hout 1995a, 561.

⁴¹ Van den Hout 1995a, 559.

⁴² Neve 1986, 395-397, Abb. 29-30; Neve 1987, 63, Abb. 16-18; Neve 1992, 34-36, Abb. 100-104.

⁴³ Neve 1992, 35.

⁴⁴ Neve 1987, 67-68; Neve 1992, 36; Gonnet 1987, 69 ff.

III⁴⁵, the ancestors of Tudkhaliya IV, or Tudkhaliya IV⁴⁶ in life.

The written documents mention of the death of the Hittite kings as “he became god”. “DINGIR^{LIM} –iš kiš” means “to become god”⁴⁷. Ünal explains that some texts record that the soul is of god origin and that the statement of “to become god” is the deification of the soul⁴⁸. Starting with the funeral ceremonies, sacrifices of the drinking and eating kind were offered to the souls of the dead kings (ak-kantaš ZI)⁴⁹. The cult of kings deified after death were also covered under the hierarchy of the gods⁵⁰. Some important religious texts related with the ancestral cult and the kingship record some of the offerings for dead kings and partly for their wives and other family members⁵¹. The cult related with the dead members of the royal family has turned each of them into a god⁵². Sacrifice offerings to dead kings, deified after death, equivalent with those offered to other gods, continued for centuries⁵³. Thus it is understood that the deified kings were respected and also worshipped as the other gods. Some houses, tributes, settlements and stone houses were assigned to the dead kings as some kind of a foundation⁵⁴. Three kings of the Hittite Empire Period, namely

Tudkhaliya, Arnuwanda and Shuppiliuma, have “stone houses”⁵⁵. Imparati⁵⁶, who rescruinized the related texts, evaluates the presence of the phrase of “E.Na₄ DINGIR^{LIM}” (the stone house of the gods) before the name of Tudkhaliya IV, as an evidence that he was not yet a god, that is he was not dead when this king had the stone house constructed.

It is known that the seals with the god and/or goddess depictions protect the bearers. The written documents narrate that the ancestral gods also protect the king as the divinities of the father (of the king) and, the divinities of the father and the mother do⁵⁷. This explains reason why the deified kings after death are depicted on the seals together with the other divinities.

A similar one of subject small god figure is also in a seal impression of Tudkhaliya IV with the embracement scene from Boğazköy⁵⁸.

In the seal impression of Murshili III / Urkhi-Teshub from Boğazköy⁵⁹ a winged sun disk crowns the whole composition. The identity of the owner of the seal is written both at the top right of the seal and at the middle bottom of the seal⁶⁰. The king’s identity inscription at the bottom is crowned by a second winged sun disk. The storm god in his cart with the double bulls is in the middle of the seal impression. Behind the storm god is a small god figure without any identity in-

45 Darga 1992, 194-195. Also Lumsden (1990) thinks that the figure is one of the ancestors of Tudkhaliya IV, bearing the same name as his.

46 Hawkins 1990, 311-312, n. 48; Van den Hout 1995a, 557; Savaş 2002, 120-121.

47 Ünal 1975-76, 168.

48 Ünal 1975-76, 168.

49 Ünal 1975-76, 168; Van den Hout 1995a, 545-546.

50 Ünal 1975-76, 168.

51 Haas – Wäfler 1977, 106ff.

52 Van den Hout 1995a, 546.

53 Otten 1969, Table II - III.

54 Ünal 1975-76, 169.

55 Otten 1958, 107.

56 Imparati 1977, 59, 61, n. 160.

57 Haas 1994, 193.

58 Neve 1992, 315, Abb. 7d.

59 Neve 1991, Abb. 29c.

60 Van den Hout 1995a, 555.

scription. The small god figure holds a lance with the left hand and a bow with the right hand. The bow is hanging down from the shoulder. The small god figure is thought to be representing Murshili III /Urkhī-Teshub⁶¹. But there is nothing indicating that the identity inscriptions of Murshili III, the owner of the seal, may belong to the subject small figure. Furthermore the image of the Storm God is between the subject small figure and the identity inscriptions. Van den Hout, considering that the subject god figure represented Murshili III, the owner of the seal, he concluded that the Hittite kings were deified while in life starting with Murshili III⁶². Since there is no identity inscription of the subject figure, it is not definite as to whom is represented by this figure. Since the bow and the lance conform with the iconography of deified kings after death, the figure may be representing any of the ancestor kings of Murshili III but presently it does not seem possible to say which king it is.

According to Laroche the god figure, depicted with the horned hat on the demon, in the impression of the cylinder seal from Ugarit (RS 17.59) is Ini-Tešub, the king of Karkamish⁶³. But Schaeffer states that the figure is a second god, protecting the king⁶⁴. The figure differs from the figures in this article because he carries the mace on the shoulder and he is standing on a demon.

There is a deified king figure in the relief (Fig. 2) at the left of the entrance of

Room 2 in the Southern Fortress at Boğazköy⁶⁵. From the hieroglyphic inscription on this relief it is understood that said figure belongs to “Shuppiluliuma, the Great King”⁶⁶. The inscription on the right wall of the room indicates that the room was constructed at the time of King Shuppiluliuma II. The king, wearing the pointed hat with three horns, holds a bow on the left shoulder and a lance on the ground with his right hand⁶⁷. The figure depicts King Shuppiluliuma II and the relief is associated with the cult of death⁶⁸. Hawkins states that the figure may be considered as being Shuppiluliuma I, acting as if he is the protecting god of the monument. However it is understood that he also agrees with Otten in that the figure may represent Shuppiluliuma II⁶⁹. He indicates that although the figure is depicted in the iconography of a warrior god, it is not certain that it is intended to be understood as being deified. Although Güterbock⁷⁰ also thought that the king could have been dead he pointed out that there were other king depictions of divine nature as it is in the depiction of Khattushili III at Fıraktin. The last sentence of the hieroglyphic inscription in the right wall while entering the room reads “Here a Divine Earth-Road in that

⁶¹ Van den Hout 1995a, 555.

⁶² Van den Hout 1995a, 559.

⁶³ Schaeffer 1956, 23-26, Fig. 22-23.

⁶⁴ Schaeffer 1956, 25.

⁶⁵ Neve 1990, 279-286; Neve 1992, 69-80, Abb. 204a-b, 213-4; Hawkins 1990, 305-314; Van den Hout 1995a, 558.

⁶⁶ Neve 1992, 72; Kohlmeyer 1995, 2648.

⁶⁷ Neve 1992, 71.

⁶⁸ Neve 1989-90, 13-14; Neve 1992, 71, 80; Woudhuizen (1996, 195), Savaş (2002, 120-121) and Kohlmeyer are in the opinion that he was Shuppiluliuma II; Kohlmeyer (1995, 2648), states that the figure of the warrior on the King Gate is a king, deified after death.

⁶⁹ Hawkins 1995, 19-20.

⁷⁰ Güterbock 1993, 226.

year (I) construct(ed)”⁷¹. Considering the size of the chamber⁷² it might be a tomb, which had been caused to be constructed by king Shuppiluliuma for himself before he died⁷³. Also the subject deified image of the king is in a nature supporting this idea⁷⁴.

Khattushili III pours libation to the Storm God⁷⁵ in the left scene (Fig. 6) of Fıraktin Rock Monument⁷⁶. The king wears a pointed hat with one horn and a dress similar as that of the Storm God. He girds a sword with the crescent handle and with his left hand he holds the bow which is on his left shoulder. Queen Pudukhepa pours libation to Goddess Khepat in the right scene (Fig.8) Queen and the goddess are depicted with similar dresses.

The depictions of King Khattushili III and Queen Pudukhepa in similar dressings as those of the divinities that they pour libations to are explained as follows: They wanted to make themselves identical with the divinities⁷⁷. Relieves are their depictions of propaganda⁷⁸; it is the demonstration of the power of the divine king⁷⁹; the king is depicted as the priest and he tried to look like his gods⁸⁰; limitations are brought to his priesthood mission by being depicted in his warrior dress; in his confrontation with the god he wore this dress⁸¹.

The relief is dated to the time of reign of Khattushili III⁸² or to sometime later after death of Khattushili III⁸³. Akurgal states that according to the written documents only the kings, deified after death, are depicted with the horn⁸⁴, however he is in the opinion that, here, Khattushili III is in life. Alexander⁸⁵ thought that the figure here could be Khattushili III in life and that the Storm God of Nerik would pass over the lituus, resting on his shoulder, to the king. However, such an idea may only be an assumption because there is not any scene on the monument related with this viewpoint. Due to the reason that the lituus is a

⁷¹ Hawkins 1995: translation; Hawkins (1990, 314) considers that the room might have been designed as an artificial entrance to the underworld. Alp (2001, 170) also reads it similarly. However Woudhuizen (1996, 202) reads it as “(and I) did the (same) in this offering pit (every) year.

⁷² The chamber is 4 m long, 2 m wide at the front and 1.6 m at the back. It is 3.3 m high at the front and 3.1 m at the back (Neve 1992, 70).

⁷³ Neve (1989-90, 13-14) qualified Chamber 2 first as a tomb chamber based on its inscription. Afterwards he reconsidered Chamber 2 together with the pool and the channel, and based on the votive pots from the pool he appraised that Chamber 2 should have served for some cultic purpose but probably not as a tomb chamber (Neve 1991, 343-344).

⁷⁴ Darga (1989, 197) has been doubtful whether Shuppiluliuma I had a deified image or not. Also she defines the figure, in the king dress and crowned by the winged sun disk on the back wall, as the depiction of Shuppiluliuma II, deified after death.

⁷⁵ Meriggi (1975, 309f.) states that the name of the god is in Luwian.

⁷⁶ For more detailed information of Fıraktin Rock Monument see Börker Klähn 1982, 260-262; Kohlmeyer 1983, 67-74.

⁷⁷ Van den Hout 1995a, 559.

⁷⁸ Kohlmeyer 1983, 74.

⁷⁹ Alexander 1998, 18.

⁸⁰ Bittel et al. 1967, 108.

⁸¹ Kohlmeyer 1983, 73.

⁸² Laroche 1989, 301-302; Bittel 1939, 567, Bittel 1984 11-12, n. 8; Bittel 1989, 35; Börker Klähn 1984, 45, n. 48; Akurgal 1962, 112; Van den Hout 1995b, 1112-1113.

⁸³ Hawkins 1990, 311 n. 48; Hawkins 1995, 19; Mayer Opificius 1989, 361-363; Savaş 2001, 107 n. 88, 108 n. 90; Savaş 2002, 120-121.

⁸⁴ Akurgal 1962, 112; Akurgal 1964, 108.

⁸⁵ Alexander 1998, 18.

kingdom mace, he elucidated the scene as the authorization of the king to rule. However, he has not considered that the lituuses are divinity symbols when they are carried with the curved ends upwards, as it is also seen here⁸⁶. Thus, he compared this scene to the scene of the Investiture of Zimri-lim on the fresco at the Mari Palace⁸⁷ and elucidated the scene as the legitimization of the kingship of Khattushili III⁸⁸. And as to the depiction of the king in the god iconography, he explained it as the display of the divinity power of the king⁸⁹.

The royal couple were vested with charismatic powers surpassing the power of the people⁹⁰. The enthronement rituals were to empower the Hittite kings with the required divine spirits⁹¹. The legalization process was realized by the supreme gods of the country during the great New Year Ceremonies when all the gods convened at the Weather God's home⁹².

The house of the Weather God, mentioned in the written documents, should be Yazılıkaya as also pointed out by Haas⁹³. Here, the Weather God and his family⁹⁴ are depicted together with the other gods. The Fıraktin rock monument

can not be depicting the legalization process because it does not conform with the preceding description. Since Khattushili III is depicted as a god here, he should not had been in life but dead and deified.

The hieroglyphic inscription in the left side of the monument first was read as "daughter of the land of Kizzuwatna, beloved (by) the god(s)"⁹⁵ but later it was read as "daughter of Kizzuwatna, having become god"⁹⁶. Therefore the monument may be the death memorial of Queen Pudukhepa⁹⁷. In addition the fact that Queen Pudukhepa had worn a similar hat as that of Goddess Khepat may indicate that she was deified after death⁹⁸. This hat is worn by both the goddesses and the queens. The hat in profile is a hieroglyphic sign that means "queen"⁹⁹. The depiction of Queen Pudukhepa as deified after death in this relief is in support of the viewpoint that King Khattushili III was also depicted here as deified after death. As to the dead king and queen pouring libation, this may be explain by the sacrifice-mantalliya. According to the explanation of Ünal, a person may have himself or one of his ancestors forgiven of a sin, committed, by offering a sacrifice of mantalliya and the dead may also appear as one sacrificing to riden of his pangs of conscience¹⁰⁰. It is considered that some symbols or figurines represent the dead during the sacrificing¹⁰¹. Ünal states that

⁸⁶ Based on texts, Alp (1948, 309-310) indicated that although there is no record that *GISKALMUS* was carried by the gods, there is mention about the *GISPAs* of the gods. But he left the question unanswered as to whether the maces (walking sticks) with the curved ends, mentioned in the texts, were the *GISPAs* or not.

⁸⁷ Alexander 1998, 18.

⁸⁸ Alexander 1998, 18.

⁸⁹ Alexander 1998, 18.

⁹⁰ Haas 1994, 194.

⁹¹ Haas 1994, 191.

⁹² Haas 1994, 192.

⁹³ Haas 1994, 639.

⁹⁴ Bittel et al 1975, Pl 58.

⁹⁵ Kohlmeyer 1983, 72; Hawkins 2000, 39 n. 12.

⁹⁶ Woudhuizen 1996, 191-194.

⁹⁷ Woudhuizen 1996, 193; Savaş 2001, 100-101.

⁹⁸ Mayer Opificius 1989, 362.

⁹⁹ Laroche 1960, Lar. 15-16.

¹⁰⁰ Ünal 1975-76, 172.

¹⁰¹ Ünal 1975-76, 173.

this tradition was adapted from Kizzuwatna by the influence of Queen Pudukhepa¹⁰². This tradition, which was started by queen Pudukhepa, might have been applied in Fıraktin by herself in person.

Based on the deification of King Khattushili III and Queen Pudukhepa it may be thought that the Fıraktin reliefs might have been carved for the royal couple¹⁰³. On the horizontal rock platform above the relief at least two man made holes, called the cup-marks¹⁰⁴ are thought to have been used for cremation burials¹⁰⁵.

Tarkasnawada, the king of Mira (Fig. 4), is depicted in the Karabel A Rock Monument¹⁰⁶. The king wears a short skirt and the one-horned pointed hat. He holds a bow, resting on his right shoulder with one hand and a lance, resting on the ground, with the other hand. He girds a sword with the crescent handle. There is also a similar figure in Karabel B¹⁰⁷. Due to the reason that the image of King Tarkasnawada, iconographically, resembles that of King Khattushili III in the Fıraktin Rock Monument it is considered that also King Tarkasnawada was depicted while he was in life¹⁰⁸. There is a male figure on the 'Tarkondemos' silver seal (57.1512)¹⁰⁹, which is said to have come from İzmir. The male figure, which should represent Tarkasnawada, the king

of Mira, wears a cap and a long mantel and holds a lance (or a long stick?) in his right hand. The depiction of King Tarkasnawada on the 'Tarkondemos' seal should be that of the time he was in life and the one in the Karabel A Rock Monument should be that as deified after death. Hollows and troughs for the offerings¹¹⁰ show that the monument is a cult place.

Kurunta, the King of Tarkhuntassha is depicted as a god with a short skirt and a pointed hat that has three horns in the Hatip Rock Monument at Konya (Fig. 7)¹¹¹. He girds a sword. He holds a lance (?), resting on the ground with his left hand and holds a bow resting on the right shoulder with the right hand. The hieroglyphic inscription at the back of the king reads "Kurunta, the great king, [the hero], son of [Mu]watalli, the Great King, the hero"¹¹². Due to the reason that Kurunta did not have a successor, who would build a monument in his memory, the above depiction is thought to be Kurunta while in life¹¹³. The text that describes the Na₄hekur of Kurunta states that the monument was built on a rock, steep on all sides except one where a access road was built¹¹⁴.

Prince Kuwalanamuwa¹¹⁵ is depicted in a similar iconography in the Hanyeri-Gezbel Rock Monument¹¹⁶. The figure,

¹⁰² Ünal 1975-76, 173.

¹⁰³ Kohlmeyer (1983, 74) is in the opinion that it may also be a place used for cultic purposes by reason of its location and the hollows on the terrace.

¹⁰⁴ Stokkel 2005, 172; Ussishkin 1975, 86.

¹⁰⁵ Savaş 2001, 99 n. 35, 103.

¹⁰⁶ For more information, see Kohlmeyer 1983, 12-28; Hawkins 1998.

¹⁰⁷ Börker Klähn 1982, 256; Hawkins 1998, 8.

¹⁰⁸ Kohlmeyer 1983, 25.

¹⁰⁹ Güterbock 1977, 11-16, Fig. 4; Hawkins 1998, 2.

¹¹⁰ Börker Klähn 1982, 256.

¹¹¹ Bahar 1996, 2-5; Dinçol 1998, Fig. 1.

¹¹² Dinçol 1998, 161.

¹¹³ *age.* 162-163.

¹¹⁴ Houwink ten Cate 1966, 181-182, Stokkel 2005, 179.

¹¹⁵ See Börker Klähn 1982, 258-259, Taf. 314b; Kohlmeyer 1983, 86-90, Fig. 36.

¹¹⁶ Ünal 2002, 149; Kohlmeyer 1983, 88-90.

which girds a sword, holds a lance, resting on the ground with his right hand and a bow, resting on his left shoulder with his left hand (Fig. 5). In the publications the hat of the figure is drawn either with one horn¹¹⁷ or no horn¹¹⁸. By his identification inscribed on the İmamkulu Rock Monument¹¹⁹ it is understood that Prince Kuwalanamuwa is also depicted there¹²⁰. The figure resembles the prince on the Hanyeri-Gezbel Rock Monument but it can not be determined whether his hat is with the horn or not.

Consequently, the above images show that the Hittites had a systemized king iconography of kings deified after death. Also, logically, a king in power and a king deified after death should not have been depicted with the same iconographic features. They have shown this difference in their art.

The iconographic common features of Hittite kings, deified after death, may be outlined as follows:

According to their hieroglyphic inscriptions it is definite that all of them are either princes or kings¹²¹. They wear the horned hats, the short skirts and the shoes with the upturned toes. They gird

swords¹²², and hold lances¹²³. and/or bows¹²⁴. Their hieroglyphic inscriptions of identity are not crowned by the winged sun disk¹²⁵, and they do not bear the god and the tabarna (hero)¹²⁶ signs.

Under the consideration of the above, it may be construed that the subject small god figure in the seal impression is an ancestor of Tudkhaliya IV and most probably his grandfather Murshili II, deified after death.

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¹¹⁷ Börker Klähn (1982, 258, Taf. 314b) states that the hat is with a horn; The horn is visible in the photographs of Akurgal 1995, Şek. 63b.lev. 60b, 61a.

¹¹⁸ Kohlmeyer 1983, Fig. 36.

¹¹⁹ Börker Klähn 1982, 259, Taf. 315; Ünal 2002, 149, Res. 45.

¹²⁰ Hawkins 2000, 39 n. 14.

¹²¹ It is hard to say whether the two god figures, facing the sitting goddess at Gavurkalesi, are king or prince depictions because they don't bare the identity inscriptions. See Börker Klähn 1982, 258, for detailed information related with Gavurkalesi.

¹²² Sword is a weapon used by the Hittite gods as done by the Hittite kings. For example the gods, number 40-42 and 44 at Yazılıkaya, gird similar swords as those done by the Hittite kings (Bittel et al 1967, 114).

¹²³ Depiction of the figure with the bow and the lance is considered as a sign that the figure may be of a prince, a king or even a great king (Kohlmeyer 1983, 94; Alexander 1998, 16).

¹²⁴ In a like manner the bow, also, is known as a weapon of the Hittite gods (Bittel et al 1967, 116). But if the deceased would be a king a text from a royal family regarding his burial by cremation would read "a bow and arrows are placed in his hand"(Kaasian ve diğ. 2002, 24).

¹²⁵ The winged sun disk does not crown the identity inscriptions of dead kings in the hieroglyphic inscriptions as may be seen with the Nişantaşı at Boğazköy (Bossert 1957, 107), Yalbur-Ilgın at Konya and the stele of Tudkhaliya IV from Boğazköy (Alp 2001, 161, 171), and others. The lack of the winged sun disk in the hieroglyphic inscription (Hawkins 1995), narrating the deeds of Shuppiluliuma II in Chamber 2 in the Southern Fortress at Boğazköy may result from the fact that it might have been constructed to be used after death of the king.

¹²⁶ According to Kohlmeyer (1995, 2648) these titles are not used in the stele of Tudkhaliya in Temple 5 and in the relief of Khattushili III in the Fıraktin Rock Monument.

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Is the small god figure in the seal impression of Tudkhaliya IV, RS 17.159, Murshili II?



Şekil / Figure 1a



Şekil / Figure 1b



Şekil / Figure 2



Şekil / Figure 3



Şekil / Figure 4



Şekil / Figure 5

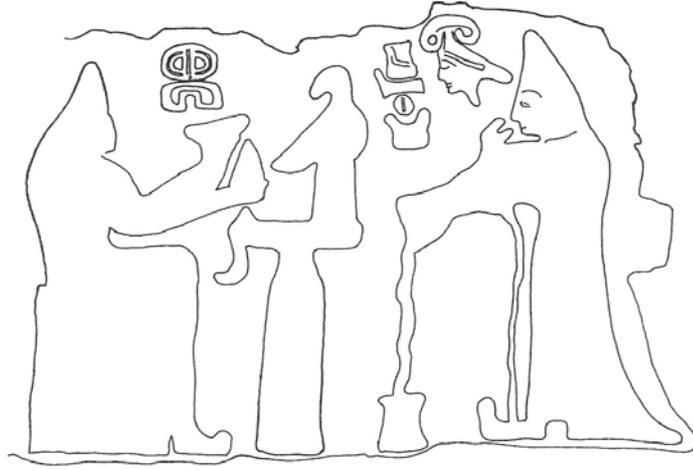


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Şekil / Figure 6



Şekil / Figure 7



Şekil / Figure 8